

A  
**JOURNAL**  
*DURING A RESIDENCE IN FRANCE,*  
FROM THE  
BEGINNING OF AUGUST,  
TO THE  
MIDDLE OF DECEMBER, 1792.



# JOURNAL

DURING A RESIDENCE IN FRANCE.

FROM THE

BEGINNING OF AUGUST,

UNTIL THE

MIDDLE OF DECEMBER, 1793.



AN ACCOUNT OF THE REMARKABLE EVENTS

THAT HAPPENED AT PARIS FROM THAT TIME

TO THE FALL OF THE KING OF

FRANCE.

TO THE

BY JOHN MOORE, M.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Quædam opuscula, quibus etiam præterea  
etiam præterea

Tacit.

DUBLIN.

PRINTED FOR J. MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GATE.

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Opus opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus ipsa  
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One opinion was expressed, and another was given, and the result was a  
fact.

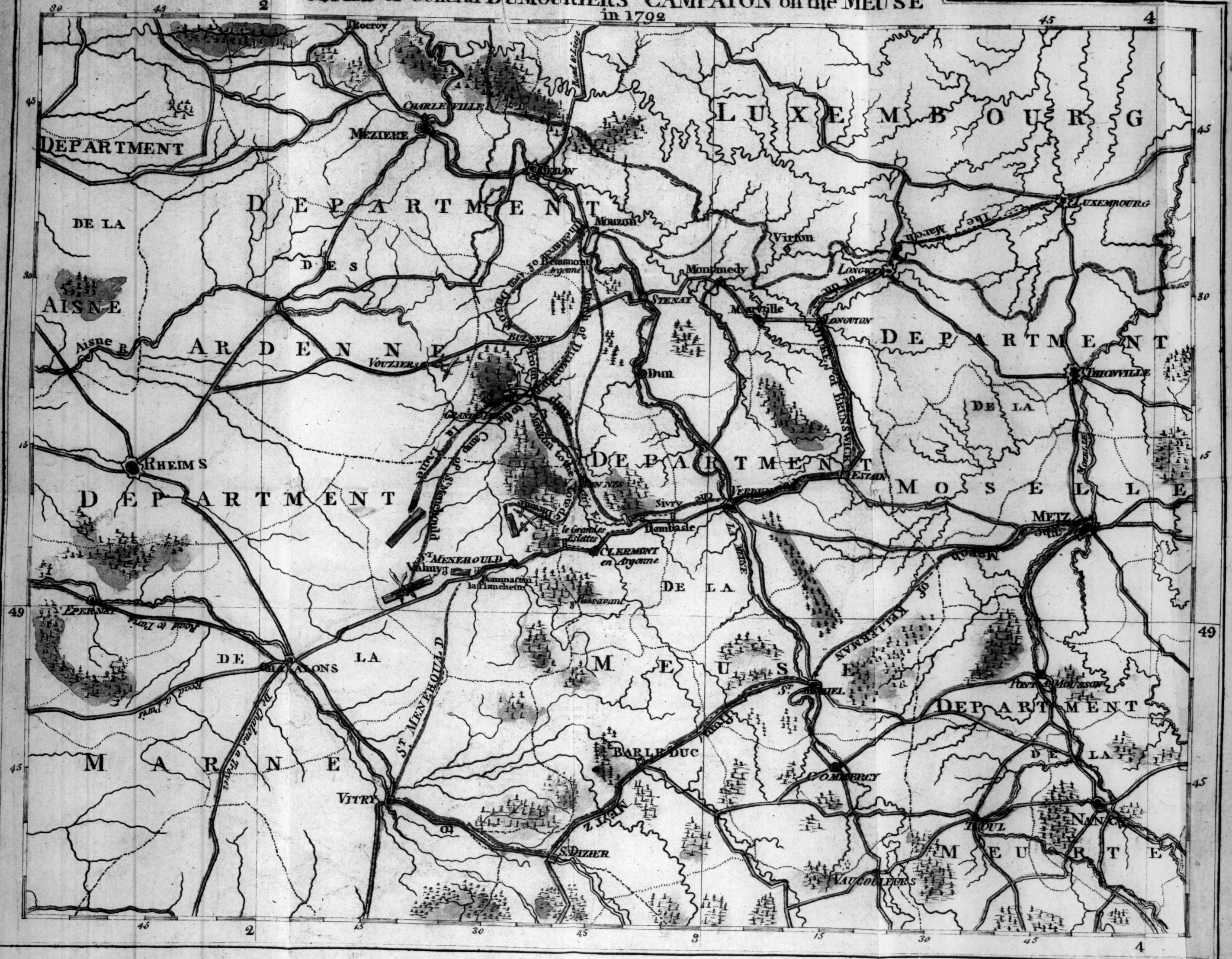
NEW YORK

PRINTED FOR J. MOORE, NO. 42 COLLEGE STREET

1793



AMAP of General DUMOURIER'S CAMPAIGN on the MEUSE  
in 1792





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A

## JOURNAL, &c.

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Aire, October 2.

**W**E left Calais this morning, and came to St. Omers in the expectation of receiving such information as would determine us whether it might be expedient to take Lille in our way to Paris; for at Calais the accounts were contradictory; according to some the siege was raised, according to others it still continued.

On arriving at St. Omers, we were assured that the Austrian army had retired from before Lille. We therefore set out directly for this place, and arrived just time enough to be admitted before the gates were shut; but we had very great difficulty in finding lodgings: all the inns being full of people, particularly of women and children from Lille, we were obliged to drive about in the dark from inn to inn for a considerable time before we could find one to receive us; at last were glad to be allowed to take shelter in a miserable nasty house, with the sign of the Three

Kings over the door. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the neglected and despised state of this inn, than that a sign so obnoxious is tolerated, or rather overlooked.

We were much disappointed on our arrival at Aire, to find the accounts of the retreat of the Austrians from before Lille as uncertain and contradictory as those of Calais. Not trusting to the information I received at our own wretched inn, I went to a coffee-house in search of some more to be depended on: I addressed myself to a grave looking man who smoked his pipe at the door; I soon found that he knew nothing of the matter, and was more disposed to ask questions than to answer them. He said he perceived I was a stranger, and asked where I lodged; I answered, *Aux Trois Rois*. "Aux Trois Rois!" repeated he with a grimace, "ma foi, Monsieur, vous avez choisi là des hôtes qui ne sont plus à la mode\*."

Although none of the inhabitants of Aire, with whom I conversed, could inform me whether the Austrians had left Lille or not, they were all able and most willing to tell many stories of their cruelties. Whether they added *ought in malice* I know not, but I am persuaded they did *nothing extenuate*. The maid of the inn, after giving a terrible account of the devastation and destruction occasioned by the pillaging in the villages, said it was not easy to tell whether the Hujans or the red-hot bullets were the most mischievous; but, continued she, "Ce qui est certain, Monsieur, est,

\* At the three Kings!—Truly, Sir, you have chosen your lodgings with people who are not much in fashion at present.



A JOURNAL IN FRANCE:

est, que le sang coule dans ce pauvre Lille depuis huit jours comme l'eau coule dans les rues d'Aire ---ah ! Monsieur, cela déchire le cœur !\*”

Having pronounced this with a sympathising accent, she went out of the room, and I heard her singing a very gay tune as she went down stairs.

The road to Paris this way is much more agreeable than that by Boulogne, the land being more fertile, the fields better cultivated, the country better inhabited, and the peasantry richer. A great deal of tobacco is raised in the country around St. Omers, and between that town and Aire: the leaves are hung up to dry on the walls of the cottages, and on the sides of the stacks of corn and of beans in the farm-yards.

We passed long trains of waggons with grain for the army now assembling near Lille.

Arras, October 8.

Aire has the appearance of a very poor town, and it might be imagined that the number of women and children who have fled to it from Lille would render it also a very melancholy place: I could not help remarking, however, that the first thing we heard last night when we entered the town, was the tune of *çaira*; and on quitting it this morning the same tune was resounding through the streets, the passengers, whether going to their work or to matins, moving their heads and steps in cadence all the way.

B 2

As

\* What is quite certain, is, that blood flows in that poor town of Lille, in as great abundance as water in the streets of Aire. It is enough to break one's heart.

As a great many post-horses are employed in the public service, it was with great difficulty that we got to Bethune. When we arrived at the post-house, which is on the outside of the fortifications, we were informed, that we could not get horses for the chaise in less than three or four hours, and none for the servants even then.

We walked into the town which is beautifully situated on a rising ground, with a delightful prospect of a rich country all around. It was market day, and the town was crowded with well dressed chearful looking peasants.

We entered into conversation with an officer of cavalry on the public square: he had left Lille three days before. He said that the firing was violent when he came away, but there had been none heard since Saturday night:—this is Monday. He had since heard that the enemy had retired to the distance of a league from the town; whether they meant to renew the bombardment or not, he did not know, but at any rate he was persuaded they would not be able to take the town, as the inhabitants were resolved to be buried in the ruins rather than surrender.

Another person accosted me soon after, as I was looking at the tree of Liberty which is planted in the market place; it was hung round with garlands of flowers, with emblems of freedom, and various inscriptions. He informed me that it was not yet certainly known whether the Austrians had entirely relinquished their attack on Lille; that at the worst they could only destroy the houses, but would never be able to take the town. On my asking if he thought we should  
be



be allowed to enter the town, in case we were to proceed by that route, he answered, that the town had never been entirely blockaded, and that even during the bombardment, which was made on the opposite side, the gate towards Bethune had been kept open for several hours every day: that as we were provided with passports we would be admitted as soon as we arrived, but, he added, that the roads were very much cut and destroyed, and he questioned whether we should find horses at the post-houses between Bethune and Lille. On the whole, he said, we must expect to meet with many obstacles, and therefore advised us to go to Paris by Arras.—We determined to follow his advice. He then explained the allegoric figures that had been placed round the tree of Liberty two days before on account of some public feast or rejoicing: this led him on to speak of the revolution, to which he appeared to be a zealous friend. He professed a great esteem for the English, because they are the friends of freedom; and added, that although some of his acquaintance had a strong persuasion that the British cabinet was watching for an opportunity of declaring against France, when she was attacked and menaced by so many other powers, yet he, for his part, could not believe that so cowardly a policy would be adopted by so brave a nation. The conduct of the French court towards Great Britain during the contest with America occurred to me, but I did not think it expedient to remind him of it. He continued to observe, that France being now unanimous for a republic, all the efforts of their enemies to conquer the country, or dictate a government to the inhabitants, would prove vain; they would be exterminated, rather than submit to foreign powers, or to their old oppressors.

oppressors.—“ We have been,” added he with great warmth, “ too long oppressed by a race of weak luxurious princes, and trod upon by an insolent yet slavish noblesse, it is difficult to get rid *de toutes ces vermines*, but as they are now mostly gone, it will be our faults if we ever allow them to return.”—Here I could not help reminding him, that many of the nobility had distinguished themselves as the friends of Liberty, and some were actually at the head of the armies of the republic at that moment: I mentioned Custine, Biron, and Montesquieu. He acknowledged the merit of those I had named, and of some others; “ but as for the greater part of the rest,” added he, “ the only service they ever rendered their country was by running away from it: if they had all remained, the democrates would not have such an easy game, and Heaven knows what might have happened; but they are gone, and it is our business to keep them off: let them go and crouch to other kings, and domineer over other slaves, none are to be found in France.—This is the land of liberty and equality.—A camp is already formed at Douay, another is forming nearer Lille; if thirty thousand more men are required, they will be raised in this neighbourhood without difficulty: hardly a peasant or tradesman in France, but is zealous in the cause of freedom, and ready to shed his blood for his country.”—The man talked with such animation of voice and gesture as drew a crowd around us, who all seemed to sympathise with what he said: this was not unobserved by the speaker, who by the looks he threw on the surrounding circle, and by the elevation of voice, shewed that he was as solicitous to be heard by it as by me.

I was

I was told, after he quitted me, that he was not a citizen of Bethune, as I first imagined, but a Parisian. I understand that there are many spies and emissaries in the various towns of France, hired by the executive power for the express purpose of spreading those sentiments, and also to examine what are the prevailing opinions. Whether this man is one of those I know not, but he could not have shewn himself a more zealous republican had he been ever so well paid for it.

When we returned to the post-house, we were informed that we might have horses for the chaises, but there were no bidets for the servants, all of them being employed by the couriers who were continually passing and repassing on the public service. There was a necessity therefore to take the servants into the chaises, and in this manner we were dragged through very bad roads to Arras.

We met a battalion of national guards on the way. The citizens of Amiens no sooner heard that Lille was invested, than they raised, clothed, and armed this battalion at their own expence. The men seem in high spirits, and were marching with great ardour to Lille.

Robespierre is a native of Arras; this great luminary of the revolution not only renders Arras more conspicuous, but has thrown a ray of light on his brother, who lives here in obscurity, but is now chosen a deputy to the convention.

Cuvilly, October, 9.

We left Arras at six in the morning, and with much difficulty arrived at this wretched village a little

little after it was dark : we had been detained several hours at Peronne, waiting for the return of post-horses, and afterwards till the poor animals were fed, and had in some measure recovered their fatigue.

Peronne is strongly fortified, but the only garrison in it at present consists of citizens ; they are however well armed, and most of the men, and all the officers, are in the uniform of the national guards.

A battalion of the Gens d'Armes of Paris are expected at Peronne this night. The quartermaster with some other of the corps are already arrived.

I was witness to a scene which will give some idea of the kind of liberty which exists in France at present.

I had joined three officers of the city guards, who were walking in the square opposite to the post-house. One of them, a genteel and obliging man, was giving me what information I asked, when two men, in the uniform of the expected battalion, came up to us, and one of them in a haughty and menacing manner, demanded how it happened that the fleurs de lis and other symbols of royalty, to which he pointed, were not effaced from the steeple and the front of the town-house.

The officer replied, that it was the business of the mayor, and he knew nothing about it. On which the other burst forth into many abusive expressions against the mayor, calling him rascal and aristocrate, and swearing that when he met him,  
he



he would cut him in pieces: as he said this, he drew his sabre and seemed disposed to quarrel with all around him.

Another officer of the city guards, more advanced in years than the former, addressed this furious fellow in a soothing manner, assuring him that the municipality had already given orders that the emblems of which he complained should all be removed; that the reason of its not being already done was because the mayor, who was a very honest man, and of course no aristocrate, had been entirely occupied in sending necessaries to their distressed friends at Lille, and in providing good quarters for the battalion of Parisians which was expected.

This conciliatory language smoothed the threatening brow of the man, who at last sheathed his sword, and walked away with his companion. Each of these fellows had a brace of pistols stuck in his belt, and there was something in their looks, as well as their deportment, which gave me a suspicion that they belonged to the assassinating band of September.

For the first two posts after leaving Peronne, we were continually meeting small bodies of the Gens d'Armes who were hastening to the relief of Lille: they march in a very straggling manner. The battalion consists of a thousand men; I do not suppose there was above two hundred in a body, with the colours. They cried as we passed, *Vive la nation! vive la republique!* and in a manner that sufficiently denoted that it was expected we should do the same, which we did accordingly; but this ceremony becoming a little  
fatiguing,

fatiguing, one of the servants refrained from joining in the cry when he was invited.—A soldier observing this, seized the bridle of his horse, and ordered him to repeat the words; with which as the man did not immediately comply, another levelled his piece, and would probably have fired, if Lord Lauderdale had not darted his head out of the window of the carriage, calling out, that the man did not understand their language. that he was un Anglois; on which the soldier raised his musket, and a young officer waving his hat and calling out Vivent les Anglois! we passed on. Although there is no danger of a man's losing his money by robbery on the high-way when he travels in France, he is in considerable danger of losing his life, if he happens not to be attentive and obedient to the word of command on occasions like this.

It was fifty to one that this servant was not shot through the head, or thrust through with a bayonet for his tardiness in the present instance; and if he had, some one would have observed, as the man did at Clermont, *C'est un homme de moins,\** and no farther notice would have been taken of the incident.

The whole of this battalion consisted of stout men, all well armed, and well clothed, but there seemed to be little subordination among them; and I understand that, in general there is less in those regiments which are formed of Parisians than in the other corps.

When we arrived at the post-house, a considerable number were carousing and singing songs in honour of the revolution. They seemed desirous to converse with us, and one who was a good deal

\* 'Tis only a man the fewer.

deal elevated with wine, proclaimed aloud the exploits they were to perform. "After driving *ces Gueux des Autrichiens*, "said he" from Lille, we shall follow them to Brussels, and there pass the winter." Another, addressing Lord Lauderdale, said, "Je vois bien que vous êtes Anglais, Monsieur, mais j'espère que vous n'êtes pas de la chambre des pairs qui sont tous des..." here he added a very gross epithet, in too great use all over France.

They then proceeded on their march, vociferating certain songs of the grossest nature, and shamefully abusive of the King and Queen. Several were in a situation which put it out of their power to march to Peronne that day. Their comrades, however, prepared a carriage for them, which at length drove away.

I asked the post-master if those men were obedient to their officers: "Comme vous êtes à moi, Monsieur," answered he, "et peut-être pas même autant—comme je vais vous le prouver:"—this excited my curiosity—"For," continued the post-master, as I am persuaded that *Monsieur* is a man who listens to reason, you would par conséquence comply with what I required, provided it were just and reasonable; whereas those men never mind what their officers say, whether it is reasonable or not."

There was something more precise and formal in this man's manner than is usual with Frenchmen, which induced me to enquire a little about him of one of the postillions; who told me he had formerly been a school-master in a neighbouring village.

He gave us another proof of his power of reasoning; on his putting only two horses to a chaise instead of three, which is usual, he advertised us that he expected to be paid for three. I hinted that this did not seem quite reasonable: he immediately undertook to prove that it was highly reasonable in him to exact as much for two horses as for three, or, if any difference were to be made, somewhat more: we were all attention.—“I will have the honour, Gentlemen, resumed he with a solemn air, of making this as clear as daylight. You must all know that travellers are often detained in the middle of their journey by an accident happening to one of the horses in their carriage; but there is a greater chance of this happening to one of three horses than of two.”—His argument was allowed to be irresistible, and he was paid his full demand. “All that I ever desire of any mortal,” said the post-master as he received payment, “is that he will only hear me, and listen to the voice of reason—but those men who are just gone would do neither.”

I understood that while he was proving to them that his bill was very reasonable, they had cut him short in the middle of his argument, and paid him with half; desiring him to recollect that salt, which before the revolution cost fourteen sols the pound, was now sold at two, and that the price of tobacco had been diminished in the same proportion.

Paris, October 10.

Having left our miserable quarters a little after five this morning, we arrived at Paris about four in the afternoon, passing through the lines which  
have



have been forming in the plains of St. Denis. Military men laugh at the idea of defending such a town as Paris by any intrenchments which could be made before the Prussians, if they come at all; and which, if made, would require a garrison of a hundred thousand men, and all the cannon in France to protect. The Parisians, however, seem pleased with these intrenchments; particularly the women, of whom we observed great numbers, with their usual gaiety, intermingled with the workmen.

Having written to an acquaintance to inform him about what time we expected to be at Paris, we drove to the Hotel des Thuilleries, where he had engaged lodgings, which were preferred on account of their vicinity to the Conventional Assembly.

It will not be improper to mention here some things which took place in the Convention during our absence from Paris, but of which I did not know the particulars till my return.

One most important object, and which demanded the early attention of the Convention, was to vindicate, as far as is possible, the French nation from the foul stain of the late massacres, by bringing the real authors of them to punishment. To this the Convention was invoked by justice, and prompted by every feeling of our nature.--- In an assembly in which there are some clergymen, many lawyers, and, as I am told, a considerable number of philosophers, it was not to be supposed that a measure so necessary and becoming  
would

would be long delayed. But it is somewhat extraordinary, that a seaman was the first who fixed the attention of the Assembly upon it.

“ Il est temps,” said Kerfaint, “ d’élever des échafauds pour ceux qui commettent les assassins, et pour ceux qui les provoquent, &c. . . . Il y a peut-être plus de courage qu’on ne pense à s’élever contre les assassins, mais dussat-je tomber sous leurs coups, je serai digne de la confiance de mes concitoyens\*.”

He then moved that four commissioners should be immediately appointed to propose the most effectual measures for the preventing and punishing assassination, and that their plan should be presented to the Convention the next day.

It could hardly be supposed that such a measure would be opposed.---Strange as this appears, however, it met with opposition.

Bazire observed, that France was still in the crisis of a revolution, and *very vigorous measures* were necessary.---It was true, he added, that many suspected persons had been arrested and punished; those persons had been endeavouring to raise a civil war; but, continued he, there are not four men to be found in all France capable to give a plan which can, in the present moment, reconcile

\* It is full time to erect scaffolds for those who commit assassinations, or prompt others to commit them, &c. . . . Perhaps it requires more courage than might be imagined to speak against assassins, but should I fall the victim of their vengeance, I will shew myself worthy of the confidence of my fellow-citizens.

reconcile the public interest with the rights of the citizens.

Tallien (he who was secretary to the Council of the Community on the 2d of September,) said, that the existing laws against assassination were sufficient for the safety of the citizens, and proposed the order of the day to Kersaint's motion.

Others asked for its adjournment.

To demand the adjournment of such a motion, cried Vergniaud, is to demand impunity for assassins, to propose the order of the day is to propose anarchy---There are men, added he, who call themselves republicans, and are, in reality, the slaves of tyrants; they spread suspicions, hatred and vengeance among the citizens--they wish to excite the French people, like the soldiers of Cadmus, to cut one another's throats instead of fighting the common enemy.

He ended an elegant speech by supporting Kersaint's motion.

Collot d' Herbois and others said, that this motion was intended for establishing *a law of blood*, and that there were men in office who would use it for the destruction of the most distinguished patriots.

Some of those whom Collot d' Herbois meant by the most distinguished patriots are strongly suspected of being the planners of the massacres--- Collot d'Herbois himself is not clear of this suspicion, which accounts for the opposition to Kersaint's motion.

Merlin

Merlin of Thionville opposed the motion, and went so far as to assert, that the baker who was murdered by the mob some months before, on a suspicion of engrossing grain to raise the price of bread, had been murdered on purpose to furnish a pretext for proclaiming martial law, and by that means to justify the troops for firing on the people, which was then intended, and afterwards performed in the Champ de Mars. The Queen, from motives of humanity, had shewn kindness and generosity to this man's widow;---in consequence of which the ridiculous falsehood, now mentioned by Merlin, was invented and propagated.

Kersaint spoke with energy against those absurd imputations; and Buzot, with strong and perspicuous reasoning, shewed that the proposed law was not to shed blood, but to prevent blood from being shed; and in addition proposed, that a guard should be formed from all the 83 departments for the immediate protection of the Convention, that each department might have the conviction that its deputies could speak and vote freely, and were not influenced by fear either of the people in the galleries, or of the Council General of the Community of Paris, which had usurped so much power, and had exercised it with so much tyranny.

It was at last decreed, that six commissioners should be appointed to form a law against the inciters to murder and assassination, and also to give in a plan for the formation of a guard to be at the disposal of the Convention, which was to be drawn from all the 83 departments, to prevent the Convention from being domineered over by the  
General



General Council of the Commune of Paris as the Legislative Assembly had been.

This General Council exercises its usurped power in a dreadful manner: citizens are still arrested and imprisoned by orders issued by its members.

Two commissioners from this council, declared at the election of the deputy at Auxerre, that the Commune of Paris possessed the whole power of the State; that those chosen as deputies should put their confidence in the Commune, and not in the National Assembly, the ministers, or the generals.

Commissioners from the same council advised the inhabitants of Douay to erect scaffolds on the ramparts, and to execute all who were of a different opinion from them, as aristocrats and traitors.

And two other Commissioners from that community raised such a spirit of insurrection at the Electoral Assembly of Seine and Marne that fourteen persons were murdered in the tower of Meaux.---Those facts were announced by different members of the Convention.

Nothing therefore can be more urgent than to deprive this Community of its usurped power; and for this purpose it seems absolutely necessary that the Convention should have guards, and such executive force at its command as will overbalance and keep in awe the rabble of the suburbs, who are at any time to be put in action by the influence

influence of Santerre, and the memory of another person who has a great deal at his command, which he is said to lavish among the fans-culottes of the suburbs, when any measure is to be carried for the interest of the party.

Some time after this a most extraordinary scene was exhibited in the Conventional Assembly: Merlin de Thionville, a man far more distinguished for zeal than prudence, declared that La Source had in private conversation said, that there was a faction in the Convention for establishing a dictator, and he called on La Source to announce who this intended dictator was, that he might be instantly poniarded.

La Source, who must have been somewhat surprised to hear a private, perhaps a confidential remark, published in this manner, explained what he had said differently. He said that he had complained of the tyranny of certain men, who flatter and deceive the citizens of Paris, and who point out the best friends of the people as victims to the rage of assassins; that such men were already dictators; that there was the greatest necessity for an armed force to secure the independence of the Convention, and prevent it from being dictated to by those who had usurped illegal influence.—“Let those men of blood, he added, tremble, and know that the same power which hurled Lewis from his throne, will not long suffer the despotism of others.”

But in the course of the debate Rebecqui, one of the deputies for Marseilles, in direct terms, accused the partizans of Robespierre of a design of raising him to the dictatorship.

Danton

Danton, dreading that this might draw on a discussion and produce an investigation which he wished to prevent, endeavoured with some address to turn the attention of the Assembly to a different object. He moved that the pains of death should be decreed on any person who should attempt to destroy the unity of France, by dividing it into different commonwealths, bound together by a federative bond, like the United Provinces and the Cantons of Switzerland. Danton knew that Buzot, Vergniaud, Guadet, and others who were eager for the punishment of all who had been directly or indirectly concerned in promoting the murder of the prisoners, were accused of inclining to this plan of federative republics, which is by no means the wish of the majority of the Convention—he therefore intended to intimidate them from prosecuting the assassins, by holding up the dread of being accused themselves.

Buzot, sensible of his intention, boldly opposed the insinuation. "Who is it," he exclaimed, "that thinks of disuniting France? I propose that a guard for the Conventional Assembly shall be furnished by the 83 departments, with a view to union, and thereby to signify that the Convention is equally under the care of them all; those who oppose this measure appear rather to wish for disunion."

He put this in so clear a light, that Robespierre thought the only means to prevent its evidence from being apparent to the most short-sighted of the Assembly, was by overwhelming the argument with a torrent of words, and obscuring



scuring it in a mist of sophistry, both of which this popular orator has at his command.

He began by expatiating on his own patriotism, on his incorruptibility, and the services he had rendered the state while he sat in the constituent assembly.----The theme was attractive, but becoming less pleasing to the audience than to the orator himself, one of the members called out, "*Robespierre, veux tu bien terminer cette longue kyrielle; declare nous franchement en quatre mots tes sentimens et non ta vie passée\**." This, however, did not bring him to give any explicit answer to the accusation; he dwelt for an hour longer on the favourite subject with which he began, then launched into protestations of his love for his country, and of the incredibility of his ever forming any scheme against that freedom for which he had so long struggled; and finished by declaring his suspicions that there were among their body, those who watched an opportunity of dividing France, and then combining it into federate states; and therefore he seconded Danton's motion.

Barbaroux, a young man, and deputy from Marseilles, in support of what his colleague Rebecqui had asserted, declared, that on his arrival at Paris, it had been insinuated to him by certain intimates of Robespierre, and particularly by Panis, that in the present emergency there was a necessity for uniting under some person of great popularity, in whom a power equal to that of the Roman

\* Pray put an end to your tedious harangue, and inform us, in two words, of your sentiments on the point in question, and not of all your past life.



man dictators should be placed for a certain time; and that Robespierre, from his known patriotism and popularity, was the properest person they could fix upon for that office.

Panis endeavoured to defend himself by saying that Barbaroux had assuredly either mistaken his words or meaning.---“Is it possible,” added he, wishing to conciliate his accuser, “that Barbaroux, whom I love, because I know him to be a good patriot, can believe I ever meant such a thing?”

This manner of denying such a charge forms a strong presumption of its truth; for a man would hardly speak in such terms of another, who accused him falsely of so dangerous an offence.

Barbaroux, however, was not to be softened, but persisted in the charge. “Who, besides yourself,” cried Panis, “can witness that I ever made such a proposal?”

“I can,” cried Rebecqui, “for I heard you.” This seemed to disconcert both Panis and Robespierre, and to silence and confound the whole party, till Marat, thinking the exigency worthy of his intrepidity of countenance, ascended the tribune. He no sooner appeared than murmurs and execrations arose in every corner of the Assembly.

“It would appear,” said he, without any mark of emotion, “that some in this Assembly are my personal enemies.”

“All! all! we are all your enemies!” resounded from every quarter.

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He lamented the general delusion with the accent of regret, and then assuming an air of courage, with a full swell of voice, he declared that he, and he only, had conceived the idea of appointing a dictator; that he had mentioned it to several, some of whom may have repeated it, but that the thought was originally his own. That, convinced as he had long been of the plots of a perfidious court, and as he still was of the treasons of many citizens, he thought the exigency of the times required that the direction of the public affairs should be placed in the hands of an honest and determined man, an enlightened patriot, who, without fear or respect of persons, would *apply the axe of justice to the necks of the guilty*.—"Such is my own opinion," continued he; "I have published it, and if your ideas have not soared to the height of mine, so much the worse for you."

Such an inflated declaration issuing from a little dirty mortal, whose murky visage scarce overlooked the tribune, turned the indignation of the Assembly into mirth. and many of the members burst into laughter.

But Vergniaud restored the gravity of the Assembly, by bringing forward a very extraordinary circumstance, which points out pretty plainly those to whom the massacres of the prisoners, not only in Paris, but in every other part of France where they took place, are to be attributed.

He then read a letter signed by certain members of the council of the Commune de Paris, which had been transmitted to all the municipalities of France, immediately after the slaughter of the prisoners

prisoners at Paris, in the beginning of September.

This letter is of so very singular a nature, that I think it proper to transcribe the whole.

Freres et amis, un affreux complôt tramé par la Cour pour égorger tous les Patriotes de l'empire François, complôt dans lequel un grand nombre de membres de l'Assemblée Nationale sont compromis, ayant réduit, le 9 du mois dernier, la Commune de Paris à la cruelle nécessité de se servir de la puissance du peuple pour sauver la Nation, elle n'a rien négligé pour bien mériter de la patrie.

Après les témoignages que l'Assemblée Nationale venoit de lui donner elle-même, eût on pensé que des-lors des nouveaux complôts se tramoiérent dans le silence, et qu'ils éclatoient dans le moment même, ou l'Assemblée Nationale, oubliant qu'elle venoit de déclarer que la Commune de Paris avoit sauvé la patrie, s'empressoit de la destituer, pour prix de son brûlant civisme ?

Fière de jouir de toute la plénitude de la confiance nationale qu'elle s'efforcera de mériter de plus en plus, placée au foyer de toutes les conspirations, et déterminée à perir pour le salut public, elle ne se glorifiera d'avoir rempli pleinement ses devoirs que lorsqu'elle aura obtenu votre approbation, qui est l'objet de tous ses vœux et dont elle ne sera certaine qu'après que tous les départemens auront sanctionné ses mesures pour le salut de la chose publique; et professant les principes de la plus parfaite égalité, n'ambitionnant d'autre privilège que celui de se présenter la première à la breche, elle s'empressera de se remettre au niveau de la Commune la moins nombreuse de l'empire, dès qu'il n'y aura plus rien à redouter.

Prévenue



Prévenue que des hordes des barbares s'avancent contre elle, la Commune de Paris se hâte d'informer ses freres de tous les départemens, qu'une partie des conspirateurs féroces, détenus dans les prisons, a été mise à mort par le peuple, *actes de justice qui lui ont paru indispensables* pour retenir par la terreur les legions de traitres cachés dans ses murs, au moment où il alloit marcher à l'ennemi; *et sans doute la nation*, après la longue suite de trahisons qui l'a conduite sur les bords de l'abyme, *s'empressera d'adopter ce moyen si utile et si nécessaire*, et tous les François se diront, comme les Parisiens: *Marchons à l'ennemi, mais ne laissons pas derriere nous ces brigands pour égorger nos femmes et nos enfans.*

Signed PIERRE DUPLAIN, JOURDEUIL,  
PANIS, SERGENT, L'ENFANT,  
MARAT L'AMI DU PEUPLE,  
LE CLERC, DUFORTRE, &c. &c.

Administrators of the Committee of the Public  
Safety.\*

The moral of this virtuous epistle is evident—  
If you have any regard for your country, or any  
tendernefs

\* Brethren and friends, a horrid plot, planned by the Court, to murder all the patriots of the French empire; a plot in which a great number of the National Assembly were engaged, having, on the ninth of last month, forced the Commune de Paris to the cruel necessity of making use of the power of the people to save the nation, the Commune has neglected nothing for the service of the country.

After the approbation which the National Assembly itself bestowed on the Commune. could it have been imagined that new plots were projecting in silence, which broke forth at the moment when the National Assembly, forgetting that she had declared that the Commune de Paris had saved the country, hastened to dissolve that very Community as a recompence for all its faithful services.

Proud of possessing the full confidence of the Nation, which we are resolved to deserve more and more: placed



tenderness for your wives and children, you will cut the throats of all your prisoners as soon as you conveniently can.

What an infernal letter! and what renders it still more atrocious, is its being deliberately written by men in the character of magistrates.

It might naturally be expected that the reading of this invitation to murder should have filled the Assembly with so much indignation, that a decree of accusation would have been immediately passed against Panis and the rest. It produced however only new clamour and confusion, with an outcry from one part of the hall for the order of the day. — At last *Couthon* proposed that they should turn their intention from accusations against indivi-

in the centre of all the conspiracies, and determined to perish in defence of the public, we cannot boast of having entirely fulfilled our duty till we shall obtain your approbation, which is the object of all our wishes, and of which we cannot be certain till all the Departments have sanctioned our measures for the public safety. Professing principles of the most perfect equality, wishing no other privilege but that of presenting ourselves the first at the breach, we will put ourselves on a level with the smallest municipality in the Nation, as soon as the dangers which now threaten the country are past.

Informed that bands of barbarians are advancing, the Commune de Paris hastens to acquaint all the departments, that part of those furious conspirators detained in the prisons of Paris have been put to death by the people; *an act of justice which seemed indispensable to strike terror into the breasts of those legions of traitors hid within her walls, at the time when the citizens were about to march against the enemy.* And no doubt the Nation, after that long succession of treasons which have brought her to the brink of ruin, will hasten to adopt a measure so useful and necessary; and all the inhabitants of France will say, like the Parisians: Let us march against the enemy, but let us not leave behind us a band of villains to murder our wives and children.

duals to the more important exigencies of the state: this was supported by all those who dreaded any inquiry or investigation respecting the promoters of the massacres; and those who had been at first inclined to that measure being fatigued, or perhaps afraid to persist, the order of the day was agreed to.—On which Marat, who remained in the tribune, pulled a pistol from his pocket, which having held to his head, he said, “I now declare to you, citizens, that if the fury which has been dispensed on this occasion had carried you the length of a decree of accusation against me, I should have blown my brains out before your faces.” What he meant by this I know not, unless it was to vex the Assembly on being disappointed of so desirable an event.

Next to the disorderly conduct of some of the members themselves, nothing disgraces the National Assembly so much as the insolence of the audience in the galleries—How could any court or any assembly of men support dignity, if it was exposed to be applauded or hooted according to the opinions or caprice of those admitted to hear their debates? There is, it is true, a decree against all noises and signs of approbation or disapprobation; but notwithstanding its being broken every day, nobody has ever been punished on that account.

The majority of the Convention have a great desire that a strict investigation should be made into the massacres, that the promoters of them may be punished in the most exemplary manner; and the same majority are equally solicitous to have an armed force at the command of the Convention decreed and established. But I imagine they have thrown a great obstacle

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in the way of obtaining the last of these objects, by manifesting a design to pursue the first. They would have shewn more policy if they had said nothing of the one till they had secured the other. A considerable number of Members of the Convention itself are supposed to be conscious of being directly or indirectly involved in that horrid business; they see their own ruin in such an investigation, and therefore will oppose it by every means in their power. What means have they in their power since a majority of the Convention is for the measure? They cannot object to a law against assassination, and for the punishment of murder; but, knowing what use is immediately to be made of the armed force, they will raise objections to that being established; and till such a force is established, their friends in the suburbs will be able to protect the authors of the massacres. In short, the minority in the Convention, at the head of which are Danton and Robespierre, already have an armed force at their command, in the active citizens of the suburbs; and will in all probability use every means, and they are not supposed to be so scrupulous as their rivals in the means they employ, to prevent any other armed force from being established.

The situation of the generals who command the armies of France at present is disagreeable in many respects; but particularly in their being under the control, and exposed to the censure of men who are no judges of their military abilities, and extremely liable to prejudice and suspicion.—Nothing can be more detrimental to the interest of the state, than that those men who are risking their lives in the public service, and performing their duty with fidelity to their country, should



be exposed to calumny, and surrounded with suspicion, the tendency of which must be to discourage their minds, cool their zeal, and disturb all their operations.—

Talien, a young man who was secretary to the municipality of Paris, and is now a member of the Convention, made an attack lately, in that Assembly, on General Montesquiou, who commands the army in Savoy.—He accused him of being tainted with aristocracy, and added, which was a pretty bold assertion for a man who was bred a clerk, that, *in his opinion*, the general was deficient in military abilities, and therefore he moved that he should be deprived of his command.

It is not to be imagined that much attention would have been paid to Talien's judgment of the abilities of a general officer, had he not been a creature of Danton's and supposed to act under his direction—His proposal, therefore, was supported by others, who were for passing a decree that General Montesquiou had lost the confidence of the nation.

La Riviere observed, that as it might occasion disquietude to other generals, if one of their brethren was to be cashiered with so little ceremony, it might be reasonable to appoint a committee to examine a little into Montesquiou's conduct in the first place, and defer the punishment till it should appear that he deserved it.

This observation in favour of the general was made in such very guarded terms, that one

would

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would hardly think it could have given offence even to his bitterest enemy.—Billaud de Varennes, however, said in reply, that it was not surprising that the same person should defend Montesquieu, who had formerly defended the conduct of La Fayette. In the present circumstances, this insinuation might have been very hurtful to La Riviere; he therefore ascended the tribune with precipitation, and declared that he was one of the 224 members of the Legislative Assembly who had on the 8th of August voted against La Fayette; that what Billaud had said was false and calumnious, and required that he should be called to order, and censured as a calumniator by the president.

“Called to order! for what?” cried Danton. “In the senate of Rome Brutus and Cato boldly spoke out those plain truths which we from the pusillanimity of our manners evade as personalities; for my part I am resolved to accuse, without circumlocution, every person whose conduct I think quite suspicious.”

Although it may be granted that Billaud and Danton have as great a resemblance to Brutus and Cato as the Convention has to the Roman senate, yet still there is a difference between the bold truths of the latter, and the bold falsehoods of the former; the comparison therefore is not quite apposite.

Danton however insisted upon General Montesquieu's being deprived of his command, for which he urged two additional reasons; one, that when the public safety is in danger, it is sufficient that a general is suspected; the other, added

he, is, "qu'il faut nous montrer terribles; c'est du caractère qu'il faut pour soutenir la liberté."

This is certainly the character that Danton has uniformly supported since the 10th of August, which tends to strengthen some suspicions of a terrible nature, indeed, which are harboured against him.

The proposed decree was passed, that General Montesquiou should be deprived of his command.

What renders Montesquiou obnoxious to some leading members in the Convention, does him honour in the eyes of impartial people—he strenuously opposed the petitions for the dechéance of the King, and was for supporting him in the exercise of the veto which the constitution gave him. He was also accused by Bazire of having said, at the extraordinary commission, that if they suspended the King's authority, they ran the risk of being abandoned by the army; it was also imagined that he wishes to behave with more mildness to the Genevois than is agreeable to certain people in power. But what will prove more injurious to Montesquiou than all these charges, is, that Danton is his enemy.

It must have been very mortifying to Danton, and the other enemies of this gentleman, when the news arrived a little after their decree, that he had already entered Savoy, and was proceeding with

That we may appear terrible, such is the character requisite for supporting the cause of liberty.



with the most triumphant success. — He concludes his letter to the minister of war with the following words. “ Je vous rends grace, Monsieur, de m’avoir procuré cette maniere de repondre à la calomnie; c’est ainsi que j’aimerai toujours à la repousser \*.”

The friends of General Montesquiou seized this opportunity of moving that the decree against him should be recalled.

His enemies opposed this.

Manuel seconded the motion which was first made by Lacroix, adding, that he hoped they would recall this decree without loss of time, lest Montesquiou, by gaining a new victory, should put them still more in the wrong. Danton, perceiving the tide flowing in favour of Montesquiou, and being unable to turn it entirely against him, proposed that the Assembly should extend the power of the commissioners that were sent to his army, by leaving it to their judgment to deprive the general of his command, or to continue him in it, as they might think expedient. Danton had before given a more extensive commission to an officer of Montesquiou’s army, namely, to watch the conduct of the general, and, if he should make one retrograde movement, to shoot him through the head.

Gensonné, with much reason, shewed the impropriety of the Assembly’s allowing the execution

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\* I return you thanks, Sir, for having put it in my power to make this kind of answer to calumny; I should wish to repel her attacks always in the same manner.

on of their decrees to depend on the judgment of any but themselves; and it was observed by Couthon, that the nation had given to the Convention the right of making decrees, but not the power of delegating that right to others. On which Danton, pushing prejudice and want of candour as far as possible, exclaimed: "They say that Montesquiou has gained a victory, but I beg leave to observe that victories are not gained by a single man—the victory was gained by the French army."

This argument certainly does prove that Montesquiou has no better title to his victory in Savoy, than Hannibal had to that at Cannæ, or Cæsar to the victory at Pharsalia.

Danton persisted in his motion; although he added, that it was possible that an old courtier, like Montesquiou, seeing the success which attended the army of the republic in all quarters, might at last resolve to adhere to it.

It was decided, however, according to the proposal of Gensonné, that the execution of the last decree against Montesquiou should be suspended.

I know not whether the continued success which attends General Montesquiou, will finally overcome the envy and malice of his enemies; but, in a third letter, which came soon after the second he announces the reduction of all Savoy, from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Genis: the progress of his troops, he says, resembles a triumphant procession more than the march of an

an army; the inhabitants of towns and villages flock to him with congratulations, and the three-coloured ribbon in their hats; and adds, that the minds of the people seem disposed to a revolution like that of France; and that the proposal had been already made of forming Savoy into an 84th department of France.

On transmitting Montesquieu's letter to the Convention, Servan, the war minister, wrote to the president, that, as the expedition into Savoy had rendered that country free, it was worthy of the French Republic to solemnise so happy an event by ordering the hymn of the Marseillois to be performed in the Square of the Revolution, with the utmost magnificence, by vocal and instrumental music. He adds, "que ce chant patriotique, expression fidelle des sentimens François, retentisse dans tout l'empire, que nos voisins l'entendent, et qu'il devienne à jamais, l'espoir des peuples, et la terreur des tyrans\*."

After General Kellerman had given the first check to the Prussians on the 20th of September, he wrote to Servan for liberty to celebrate a *Te Deum* in his camp, on account of that important affair.—"The song of the Marseillois," replied the minister, "is the *Te Deum* of the French republic; let it be performed by the music of your army and sung by the foldiers."

\* Let that patriotic song, the faithful expression of the sentiments of France, resound all over the nation; may it be heard by all the neighbouring countries; and may it become the hope of the people, and the terror of tyrants!



In both instances Servan's proposal was adopted.

To substitute a profane song in preference to a religious rite, it might be imagined, would give great offence: such a proposal from the parliament to their army in the time of the English republic, would have produced a mutiny and have shocked the whole nation. It had no such effect in the present instance in France, where religious zeal is wonderfully extinguished; and an enthusiasm of another kind glows in its stead, the enthusiasm of Liberty, what they call Civisme, in which an attachment to the present government, and an abhorrence of monarchy are included.

This is professed with as much ostentation and apparent zeal as ever the Roman Catholic religion was, in the most superstitious times; for although the punishment with which a want of civisme is attended, is not so durable as that pronounced against the irreligious, it is more immediate; which on the generality of mankind, has full as great an effect. Civisme, like religion, produces both enthusiasts and hypocrites: the former detest and abominate a king and nobility, as much as their zealous forefathers, two centuries ago, abominated the devil and his angels; and they are as zealous persecutors of every deviation from the orthodox creed of civisme, as their predecessors were of heresy. The enthusiasts are chiefly among the poor; the hypocrites among the rich: many of whom are just such republicans in France, as the Jews are Christians in Portugal.

Immediately

Immediately after Montesquieu's letter had been read in the Convention, Bencal, one of the deputies for the department du Puy-de-Dôme, put the Convention in mind, that the Constituent Assembly had by a solemn decree renounced every idea of conquest; and therefore he very wisely moved that the Convention, faithful to that sacred principle, ought to reject the proposal of erecting Savoy into an 84th department of France, and should order it to be proclaimed all over Savoy, that France renounces conquest, and desires no extension of territory.

This motion, equally just and politic, was opposed: it was said, France had not given a temporary freedom to a country, that it may again fall under the yoke of its former tyrant. She ought to agree to the generous wishes of the people she has freed, by accepting their union, and extending the empire of Liberty as far as possible. "All Europe," said a member, "will gradually join you, and all Europe will be like one family.—The people of every nation will be your friends, and you will have no enemies but kings—you cannot surely refuse such a sublime idea."

A flourish of this kind might be applauded in a disputing club, or might perhaps be admired in a visionary declaimer on politics; but it was hardly to be imagined that such sentiments would make any impression on an assembly of legislators, where practical knowledge and sober good sense presided. It was hardly to be expected that those fine words would not be construed by all Europe into an absolute renunciation of the decree against conquest, and really meant that the new republic intended, under a pretence of spreading liberty,

to overturn every government, and subdue every nation around.

Jean Baptiste Louvet, notwithstanding the applause which was very liberally bestowed on the sentiments above mentioned, had the firmness and good sense to declare, that without renouncing one of the wisest decrees of the constituent assembly, they could not interfere in the government of any other country: that they could not, without infringing the most sacred right of the people of Savoy, press upon them the constitution which France might assume for herself. How did they know that the constitution which was expedient for France, was also expedient for Savoy?—and if expedient, how did they know that the Savoyards at the bottom of their hearts chose it?—"That which is essentially just," Louvet continued, "is for the most part sound policy. Let it be solemnly declared to all the people who shall be, I will not say subdued, but freed by your arms, that they may choose to themselves what form of government they please, that their laws shall be of their own making, that you not only wish to give them freedom, but freedom in the mode which they themselves prefer.—"I am convinced," added he, "that in Brabant, whither your armies intend to march, there exist strong prejudices against some of your laws, and your constitution in general; prejudices which will require many years to eradicate, and which will render you more odious in their eyes than their present master, if you attempt to force your constitution upon them. It is as expedient therefore, as equitable, to declare the complete independence of every country into which you carry freedom."

Danton,



Danton, in answer to this, said, that they had assuredly the right to declare to every such country, that it should never more be governed by a king: that if the people were so absurd as to desire a government contrary to their interest, it should not be allowed: that the National Convention of France should be *a committee of insurrection against all the kings in the universe*.

Nothing can be imagined more mad than this proposition, the tendency of which is to force all the monarchs in Europe, in self-defence to make war on the Public: what private view Danton has in this, I do not know, but it evidently goes to the Ruin of France.

The Assembly, however, becoming impatient to close the discussion, ordered General Montesquiou's letter to be printed, and referred the proposition respecting Savoy to the consideration of the diplomatic and the war committees.

Notwithstanding the prudent conduct and brilliant success of Montesquiou, I am informed that there is no great probability of his being continued in his command. His enemies are of a disposition not to forgive him for having reduced Savoy at the very time that they were asserting he would never enter it, or to forget the injustice they have already done him. Beside these and the motives of dislike previously mentioned, they have another ground of hatred towards him, namely, his being a nobleman, and of a very ancient family. This appears equally unjust and absurd:—unjust, because a man of noble birth, who from a love of general freedom has adhered

to

to the revolution, has more merit than they can boast who had no such sacrifice to make—and it is absurd, because, instead of giving no importance to the accidental circumstance of birth, it is giving a great importance to it, which operates against the possessor. But if a man's nobility is not allowed, independent of personal merit, to be of service to him, neither ought it to be allowed independent of demerit to injure him.

Accounts are arrived that Dumourier, having left a sufficient force to harass the retreating army of Prussia, has quitted his own camp, and is soon expected in Paris.

October 11.

I was present this day for the first time at the Conventional Assembly, where a virulent attack was made on Dillon; one of the generals employed against the German army, and who, from the latest accounts, is now pressing upon their rear at Verdun.

As it elucidates what immediately follows, I shall here insert a short account of Dumourier's memorable campaign, from the time he was appointed to the command till he left the army, although I was not acquainted with all the particulars till some time after this date.

General Arthur Dillon commanded the French army on the frontiers of Flanders, when he heard of the insurrection of the 10th of August.

Dumourier

Dumourier, being at that time subordinate to him, commanded in the camp of Maulde. From the accounts which Dillon received of that affair he conceived it to be a rash insurrection which would be disapproved of by the nation, and that it would soon end in the ruin of all concerned in it. He therefore gave out an order to the army on the 13th, in which he said, that the constitution had been violated by men who were the enemies of liberty; that he determined to remain faithful to the nation, to the law, to the king, and to the constitution framed by the assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, to which they had all sworn.

He transmitted this order from Pont-sur-Sambre, where he was with his army, to the camp of Maulde, with a letter to General Dumourier, directing him to publish it there.

Dumourier had a different idea of the transactions of the 10th. He saw that the public opinion went in favour of the successful party; that it would be very difficult to wrest the government out of the hands which had seized it; that an attempt of that kind by the army would immediately produce a civil war, and expose the country to foreign invasion; and that he himself would remain subordinant to Luckner, La Fayette and Dillon. Dumourier was nearer to Paris than Dillon, and had received earlier and, as is supposed, more distinct information from his friend Gensonné, of the state of affairs. In his answer to Dillon's letter, he regretted that general's precipitancy, assured him that he would not publish the order in his camp, and advised Dillon to retract it without loss of time.

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He sent at the same time an account of what he had done, and was disposed to do, to his friends at Paris; and when the three commissioners from the National Assembly arrived, he not only took the oath of Equality himself, but persuaded Dillon to do the same. That officer found no difficulty in explaining his conduct to the commissioners, assuring them, that it had proceeded from the misrepresentation which had been made to him of the affair of the 10th, but that he was zealous to serve the French nation, whatever form of government they should think proper to adopt.

The National Assembly were so much pleased with this conduct of Dumourier, that they gave him the supreme command of the army formerly under M. de la Fayette, placing Dillon, who is an elder officer under him. Having no pretext for putting Dumourier above Luckner, and desirous at the same time that the former should be the efficient commander, they ordered Luckner to Chalons, to form an army there of the men who were marching from all parts to that place, where they are to be clothed, armed and sent in detachments wherever the exigencies of the state required. Kellerman was, at Dumourier's recommendation, ordered to replace Luckner as commander of the army in Lorraine; Biron and Custine commanded the army on the Rhine, and Montesquieu that which was ordered against Savoy: all these officers took the oath required by the Assembly, and made the armies under their orders take them also.

Dumourier sent Dillon to command the army of the Ardennes, which comprehended all the troops

troops placed in that part of the frontiers of France, between Rocroy and Montmedy. The two generals afterwards met at the town of Sedan, with a view to fix on future measures.

The enemy had already entered France, was in possession of Longwy, the first fortified town on the frontier next to the duchy of Luxemburg, and seemed at once to threaten Montmedy, Verdun and Thionville.

The Duke of Brunswick's army was above 50,000 strong; General Clairfait had joined him with 15,000 Austrians, beside a considerable body of Hessians and French emigrants, amounting in all to 90,000 men.

After leaving the frontier towns tolerably garrisoned, Dumourier had not above 17,000 men to act immediately against this immense force; and these 17,000 had been uselessly encamped between Sedan and Stenay, the Meuse being fordable in numberless places between Stenay and Verdun, where the enemy had no opposition.

On comparing the strength of the invading army with the weakness of that which was to oppose it, it was at one time imagined that all direct opposition would be vain, and that the most effectual measures would be, by a sudden eruption into Austrian Flanders, to endeavour to divert the enemy from advancing against Paris: but the small probability there was that such an expedition, however successfully conducted, would have the desired effect, soon made that scheme be laid aside; and Dumourier, inspired by

by an immense desire of renown, and trusting to the resources of his own genius, and the enthusiasm which animated his countrymen, resolved, by the defending of posts, and every other possible means, to attempt to check and retard the progress of the enemy, till he should be reinforced by the army of Kellerman from Lorraine consisting of 20,000 men, by that which Bournonville was leading from Flanders which amounted to 13,000, and what Luckner had sent to him of the new levies which were assembling at Chalons.

Small as Dumourier's force was, he had the courage, on the 20th of August, to detach from it two battalions of infantry, under the command of M. Gálbaud, an excellent officer, who had orders to throw himself into Verdun, and assist in the defence of that town.

Dumourier gave the command of the advanced guard of his army to Dillon; it consisted of five battalions of infantry, with fourteen squadrons of light horse. Dillon was ordered to march to Stenay, where Dumourier intended to join him on the first of September, and dispute the passage of the Meuse with the enemy.

Dillon, with a thousand horse, pushed on before the rest of his troops, to Stenay, and was making arrangements for the defence of the place, when the advanced guard of the Austrian army, four thousand strong, with several pieces of cannon, appeared. Convinced of the impossibility of defending the town without infantry, and without cannon, he evacuated Stenay, crossed the Meuse, and drew up his troops upon the opposite shore of that



that river, sending notice to his Infantry, who were advancing, to return to the camp at Mouzon. When he himself retired to join them there, his rear was attacked by the Austrian cavalry, who were repulsed with considerable loss, and Dillon arrived in safety at Mouzon in the middle of the night\*.

Dumourier advanced with his small army to Mouzon on the first of September, and then marched on to Beaumont en Argonne; where Dillon had previously traced out a camp,

Finding that it was now too late to dispute the passage of the Meuse, Dumourier determined to make himself master of the various straits in the forest of Argonne. This forest extends from the Chene le populeux to Passavent, a space of about forty miles; the German army, in marching to Paris, was under the necessity of going by some of these straits, or making a considerable circuit by bad roads, and turning the forest. Dumourier detached Dillon with six thousand men, to seize upon the very important pass of Blesme, near the Grandes Illettes, in the forest of Argonne. It is about seven or eight miles from Verdun, on the direct road from that city to Paris by Chalons. He had at this time heard nothing from Galbaud, and had no doubt of Verdun's holding out a much longer time than would be necessary for Dillon to perform this service. But Verdun surrendered by capitulation on the second of September, without having made any resistance, and Dillon would in all probability

\* Compte rendu au ministre de la guerre, par le Lieut. General A. Dillon.

probability have arrived too late, had it not been for the sagacity of M. Galbaud. When that officer came near to Verdun, he found it so completely invested by the Prussians, that it was impossible to execute the orders of Dumourier. He considered, in the next place, how he could employ the two battalions under his command most effectually for the public service; and, anticipating the intentions of his commander, he marched them to Biesme, and immediately sent a messenger to Dumourier, to inform him of what he had done, and to demand a reinforcement. The army at Verdun, in advancing to Paris, were now under the necessity of forcing this pass, or making a circuit of forty miles, by Varennes and Grand Pré on the north, or one still larger by Bar-le-duc on the south. Dumourier thought the former the most probable, for he posted himself with the body of his army at Grand Pré. This is also a pass in the forest of Argonne, requiring however a much greater force to defend it than that of Biesme; to which Dillon marched with redoubled efforts, in the dread that Galbaud, who he had heard was in possession of it, should be forced before he arrived\*.

While Dumourier remained at Grand Pré, he detached General Miranda with a body of two thousand cavalry, to protect a convoy he expected, and also to reconnoitre the Prussian army, whose movements at this time seemed equivocal. Miranda performed this service with ability and success; an advanced guard of Prussians, consisting of four thousand, were posted

in

\* Compte rendu au ministre de la guerre, par le Lieut. General A. Dillon.

in such a manner that they must have intercepted the convoy—He attacked and defeated them, and the convoy arrived in safety at Dumourier's camp\*.

The march of Dillon from Mouzon to Biesme, through a forest exceedingly difficult to traverse, and so near to a superior army, required military skill in the commander, and steadiness in the troops, especially as they were assured by the municipal officers of a village through which they passed, that Galbaud, discouraged by the terror spread among his troops by those who came from Verdun, had quitted Biesme, and fallen back towards Chalons, and that the town of Sainte-Menehould was in the possession of the enemy. Dillon, however, having sent couriers to all quarters to ascertain those facts, soon discovered that they were not true, and on the afternoon of the fifth of September effected his junction with Galbaud.

The troops were immediately employed in fortifying, by all the resources of art, the natural strength of this post, which was done so effectually, that when the King of Prussia in person, with the Duke of Brunswick, reconnoitred the place from the heights near Clermont, they thought it too strong to be forced.

Some people have ventured to censure the Duke of Brunswick for neglecting to attack this post of Biesme before Galbaud was reinforced.

\* Rapport des Commissaires de la convention aux Armées réunies.

\* Compte rendu au ministre de la guerre, par le Lieutenant A. Dillon.



ed by Dillon, or for not ordering Dillon to be opposed in his march from Mouzon to it.

It belongs to military men only, and such as are acquainted intimately with the situation of the country, and the circumstances in which the German army was at that time, to decide on this point; but any one may naturally conclude, that a general of so high a reputation as the Duke of Brunswick must have had sufficient reasons for acting as he did.

M. Gobert, adjutant general of Dumourier's army, and probably better qualified to judge of the conduct of the Duke of Brunswick than most who have censured it, observes, that Galbaud was in possession of the pass on the 31st of August, that the garrison of Verdun had joined him on the second of September, and that the Duke of Brunswick might naturally believe that many peasants from the neighbouring villages would immediately resort to Galbaud and assist in defending the pass, this being a kind of service in which new troops might be as useful as veterans.

Whatever were the Duke's reasons for waving the attack of this post, the possession enabled Dillon to afford protection to a number of villages situated on the river Aire, and put the Prussians to the necessity of long and most fatiguing marches, by Grand Pré to the camp of La Lune near St. Menchould, instead of going directly through Biesme.

Dumourier was in possession of the defiles of Grand Pré for some time before he was disturbed, and

and at last became persuaded that the Duke of Brunswick meant to avoid the forest of Argonne altogether, and march to Chalons by Bar-le-Duc. Under this conviction he wrote to Dillon that he was preparing with a strong advanced guard to harass the rear of the enemy's army, who, he understood, were endeavouring to pass by Dillon's right to Chalons. He directs him to leave 2000 men to guard the pass; and then to assemble all the troops, and order them to St. Menchould, where he would endeavour to join him; and, with their united force, afterwards form a junction with Kellerman. He concludes his letter in these words.

“Faites rassembler, par le tocsin, tous les paysans pour aller border les abattis: portez-vous tout-à-fait à votre droite, et dirigez-y tout ce qui se rassemble à St. Menchould. Après notre jonction nous nous arrangerons ensemble pour couvrir cette place et pour suivre le mouvement sur Chalons. Faites sonner le tocsin sur toute votre route, j'en ferai autant, et cela déconcertera un peu la marche des Prussiens. Je commencerai mon mouvement à minuit \*.

DUMOURIER.

*Le Général en Chef de l'Armée du Nord.*”

\* Assemble all the peasants by the alarm bell, that they may line the abatis†. Direct your march to the right, and order all the troops who shall assemble at St. Menchould to move in the same direction. After our junction we will fix upon measures for covering that place, and attending the march of the enemy to Chalons. Order the alarm bells to be rung during your march, I will do the same; this will somewhat disconcert the march of the enemy. I will begin my march at midnight.

(Signed)

DUMOURIER.

† An abatis is formed by trees cut down and arranged with their branches towards the enemy, so as to form a kind of fortification.

It is probable that the Duke of Brunswick had made some movements which indicated an intention of marching by Bar-le-duc to Chalons; or had otherwise contrived to spread this impression, on purpose to conceal his real design, which was to force the defiles of Grand Pré.

Kellerman and Luckner were both deceived in this point. The former was so much convinced that the Duke's movement was a feint, that he had thoughts of marching from Sainte Dizier, where he then was, to Chalons, so as to arrive before the enemy.

Luckner had sent reinforcements to the army of Kellerman where they were not needed, instead of sending them to Dumourier at Grand-Pré, by a short rout which Dillon had indicated.

Dumourier was soon convinced of his mistake, and wrote the following letter to Dillon.

Grand-Pré le 12 Sept, l'an  
4me de la Liberté.

LES ennemis vous ont abandonné, mon cher Général, pour se porter sur moi; ils me font une attaque dans le moment; je ne fais pas encore si c'est la véritable; je crois que ce n'est qu'une feinte pour attaquer la Trouée du Chêne-le-Populeux \*, où je porte du renfort. Envoyez moi du-

\* This is a post on the north end of the Forest of Argonne, which Dumourier meant to defend. By the Trouée de Clermont he means the Straits of Biesme.

secours,



secours, sans cependant dégarnir la Trouée de Clermont.

Je vous embrasse.

*Le Général en Chef de l'Armée du Nord.*

Signé

DUMOURIER\*.

On the following day Dillon received another letter from Dumourier, who, being assured that the enemy intended a second attack with more force than that of the day before, and having received no succours from Challons, gave a positive order to Dillon to send him directly all the troops he could possibly spare without endangering his own position. Dillon accordingly sent him about 3000, the fourth of which was cavalry ; and this was the only reinforcement which Dumourier received before he was obliged to quit Grand-Pré. But small as this aid may be thought, it was as much as Dillon could in prudence send, because the body of Prussians which had marched under the Duke of Brunswick to Grand-Pré had been immediately replaced by 15,000 Austrians and Hessians, who were afterwards reinforced to the number of 20,000, by whom he expected to be attacked every day.

\* The enemy have left you, my dear General, to come against me ; they begin an attack at this moment. I am not quite convinced that they are in earnest, I rather suspect that this is a feint to divert my attention from the passage of Chenelle-Populeux, where they mean a real attack, and whither I am actually sending reinforcements. Send me succour, without however too much weakening the Strait of Clermont.

Compte Rendu par le Lt. Gen. A. Dillon.

It is probable that Dillon had emissaries near the person of the Duke of Brunswick, who gave him notice of what passed, for his information is in general just; and in a letter to Kellerman, dated the 13th of September, he informs him, that Dumourier had been attacked the day before, and that the attack had been renewed the morning of the 13th, without success; and he adds, “Je fais qu’hier le Duc de Brunswick furieux a dit au Roi de Prusse—Je perdrai bien du monde, mais j’y passerai\*.”

The Duke of Brunswick was as good as his word—On the 14th of September the attack of the Prussians was irresistible. During the time that Dumourier was himself attacked, he was informed that a post called La Croix aux Bois, which General Chazot defended, was forced. Dumourier was obliged therefore entirely to abandon the passes of Grand Pré, and to direct his march to Saint-Menehould, where he had previously traced a camp in a very strong position.—On his march, his army was so violently pressed by the advanced cavalry of the Prussians, that it was thrown into confusion, and part fled in a shameful manner, quite to the town of St. Menehould, which they entered, crying, “All is lost!” and spreading dismay on all sides. Dumourier, in the account which he sent to the Convention, seems to think, that if the Prussians had pushed on with vigour during this panic, his army might have been dispersed.

\* I know that the Duke of Brunswick said to the King of Prussia yesterday in a violent passion—I shall lose a great many men, but I am resolved to pass.

Dillon

Dillon happened to be at St. Menehould when the fugitives arrived—he did every thing in his power to prevent the terror from spreading—he sent detachments of horse to the neighbouring villages to stop those who fled, and prevent the alarm reaching Chalons, where it might have had the worst effect on the new levies assembling under Luckner.

By Dillon's exertions, and the animating presence of Dumourier, the army regained order, spirit, and confidence in their officers.

Those who had distinguished themselves in this shameful manner were sent in disgrace from the army, which on the morning of the 15th entered the camp of St. Menehould, and began with all diligence to fortify it, in the persuasion that it would very soon be attacked. Bournonville, at the head of a body of 13,000 men, joined Dumourier on the 17th. The Duke of Brunswick knew that Kellerman was near at hand with a greater force, and formed the plan of attacking him before he could join Dumourier. Kellerman, by forced marches, gained the heights of Valmy on the evening of the 19th. Valmy is within less than a mile of other heights, on which was the strong camp of Dumourier. Kellerman received intelligence of the march of the Prussians during the night, which convinced him that he would be attacked the following morning. He made his dispositions accordingly, and used every possible means of encouraging his soldiers. He walked through the lines with some of the most popular officers, to animate them by his discourse. The army



answered them by huzzas and the cry of *Vive la Nation* ! Kellerman's army extended from a village called Dammartin la Planchette, along the heights of Valmy. A free communication was kept up between his army and that of Dumourier, who sent 8000 men to his assistance during the cannonade, which lasted the whole day. The Prussians manœuvred with their usual coolness and address, sometimes forming into columns, as if their intention had been to attack with the bayonet, and sometimes moving with an intention to surround Kellerman, and cut off his communication with Dumourier. The firmness of the French, under the skilful direction of their Generals, prevented the Prussians from accomplishing either. Dumourier was in person at the batteries during several hours of the cannonade, and at the head of his own troops to oppose the Prussians when they attempted to surround Kellerman. The superior address of the French cannoneers was apparent during the whole action ; and the army in general shewed a degree of steadiness which disciplined troops alone have been supposed to possess, and rivalled the Prussians in steadiness and obedience to their officers, while their natural vivacity appeared in songs and cries of *Vive la Nation* ! amidst the carnage of the cannonade. In Kellerman's army there were about four hundred killed, and between five and six hundred wounded. The General himself narrowly escaped, his horse being killed under him. It is said, and it is most probable, that the loss of the Prussians was considerably greater. What military men peculiarly admire in the conduct of Kellerman, was the skill he displayed

played that evening in changing his position in the presence of the enemy, to one still more advantageous; by which his right wing touched the army of Dumourier, his left was protected by heights easily defended, while in his front was a rivulet greatly swelled by the recent rains†. That he was not attacked during this manœuvre is not only a proof of the ability with which it was performed, but also forms a strong presumption of the great loss which the Prussians had sustained, and of their being discouraged by this unsuccessful attack.

At the same time that the attack was made on the army of Kellerman, the 20,000 men which had been left at Clermont made an attempt on Dillon's camp at Biesme.—The Duke of Brunswick had been under the necessity of leaving this strong party behind, otherwise Dillon would have intercepted all his convoys; so that Dillon, with about five or six thousand men, had detained 20,000 from the Prussian army when it marched against Dumourier and Kellerman. Those 20,000 now marched to the attack of Biesme; they were so confident of their own success, and that Dumourier would be routed by the Prussians, that they made their whole equipage and baggage of every kind follow them, in the expectation that after they had forced the post at Biesme, they would be ordered to join the Prussians and accompany them to Paris. Dillon's Defence, however, was attended with the same success

† Observations sur la Campagne de 1792, par Gobert, Adjudat General.

as Kellerman's—the Austrians and Hessians were repulsed and obliged to retire in great disorder.

After these unsuccessful attacks, the Duke of Brunswick encamped his army at La Lune, near the army of Dumourier, and between St. Menehould and Chalons. Here the Prussians, who had already suffered by sickness, were greatly distressed from a want of provisions. Bournonville, detached with a body of 4000 men by Dumourier, had intercepted several convoys that were advancing from their magazines at St. Pré. He intercepted, in particular, several droves of cattle going to the Prussians, and ordered them to be slaughtered for the use of his own army : for this last exploit, joined to his courage and strength, he was called the French Ajax. Nothing could bribe the French peasants to carry any kind of necessaries to the Germans, while they flocked with supplies to the camp of Dumourier. It also was difficult and most expensive for the Duke of Brunswick, or any officer who commanded his detached parties, to procure intelligence, as they were surrounded with spies, who informed Dumourier of all their movements. As the Prussians could procure no provisions but from their own magazines, the scarcity was increased by the excessive rains which fell at this time, and rendered the roads uncommonly deep, and in some places almost impassable ; in the mean time, the Prussians were more exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and suffered more from cold, moisture, and want of provisions, than the French, who were



were protected in some degree from those evils by the care and attention of their countrymen. To these distresses were added the vexation and discouragement which the Prussians must have felt at finding the whole country united against them, instead of a great proportion being disposed to join them, as they had been made to expect.

There are professions in which men sometimes acquire great reputation with little merit; this may happen either from the public being no judges of the merit of those particular professions, or because success in the profession may arise from the merit of others who direct the measures of the individual who acquires the reputation.

This is often the case in the military profession, at the top of which men are placed from the circumstances of birth, independent of all idea of merit, and frequently in spite of the most glaring proofs of incapacity. In this profession, likewise, men have acquired fame from successes that have been entirely owing to the superior valour of their troops, and the superior skill of some subordinate officer.

But if the commanders of armies may on some occasions acquire fame without deserving it, no set of men are more exposed to censure on account of sinister events, which no sagacity could foresee, and no human power could prevent.

Few men have experienced this more than the Duke of Brunswick, who has been blamed for not marching directly to Chalons, or Rheims, as soon as he found himself between those cities and Dumourier's army. Those who make this criticism do not think of the danger and difficulty of marching with an enemy hanging on the rear, and intercepting the convoys of the advancing army.

But without taking further notice of such random censures, it is the opinion of many of the military profession, that instead of remaining inactive at his camp at La Lune after the cannonade of the 20th of September, he ought to have attacked Dumourier at St. Menehould. Those who hold this opinion say, that from the superiority of the Prussians over the raw troops of France, he had a great probability of beating and dispersing them, which would have spread such an alarm that the levies which were marching against the Duke would have joined in the flight; and instead of enemies, he would have met only friends on his way to Paris; for nothing is so efficacious as a victory, in converting enemies into friends.

I have been assured, that this measure was proposed by the Marechal de Castries, in a Council of War held at La Lune; and his opinion was supported by that of M. de Poilly, a General officer in the French army, who had resided in that province, and had an accurate knowledge of the country; and that this attack of the camp of Menehould was also greatly desired by the whole corps of French Emigrants.

Withou

Without any pretensions to military knowledge, it is not difficult to conjecture what may have determined the Duke of Brunswick against risking such a measure.

He certainly had entered France with a persuasion that he would be favoured by a great part of the country who disliked the constitution: he had reason to believe that the events of the 10th of August, and the 3d of September, would render the people more averse to the new government, and more favourable to his expedition. The easy conquest of Longwy and Verdun tended to confirm him in those sentiments. He found no very great difficulty in forcing the Straits of Grand-Pré.

Thus far therefore every thing rather had a tendency to encourage the Duke to proceed; but the action of the 20th of September, and the disposition in which he found the country, must have had a very different effect on his mind. By the former he had the proofs of a firmness in the French army, and a skill in the General which he did not expect; and in the country, so far from any favourable disposition towards his enterprize, every appearance was hostile in the highest degree. At his camp at La Lune his convoys were sometimes intercepted; he could obtain no provisions from the inhabitants, and his army was suffering under the complicated distress of want, and a dangerous epidemic; it is said there were near ten thousand sick in his camp, and at Grand-Pré. In such circumstances an attack on Dumourier's army, now 70,000 strong, and whose strength



he had already experienced, was not very promising of success; and if unsuccessful, would have been attended with the entire ruin of his own. But even upon the supposition that he had been victorious, the remains of a French army after a defeat, with the troops at Chalons, Rheims, Soissons, and in every part of the country, would have rendered the retreat of his army, diminished by victory and enfeebled by sickness, very dangerous if he had marched much further into France.

As soon as it was evident that the country was against him, the Duke of Brunswick's enterprize might be considered as having failed. He had nothing to think of but to effect a retreat, which he finally conducted with a skill equal to the highest reputation.

But he first proposed a truce; during this a conference took place between the chiefs of the opposite armies. It has been said, that Dumourier agreed to this with a view to promote desertion among the German soldiers, by distributing the decree of the National Assembly for the encouragement of deserters, and also in the hopes of inducing the King of Prussia to break with the Austrians, at this moment of indignation and disappointment; and it has been asserted that Dumourier proved himself a much better politician than the Duke of Brunswick on this occasion. The reverse of this however seems to be the truth; for if what is mentioned above were really Dumourier's objects in agreeing to the truce, he failed in both. There was no desertion in the Prussian army, and

and the King did *not* break with the Emperor ; but it was of infinite importance to the Duke of Brunswick, who had already determined on a retreat, to have a few days of truce, which he employed in conveying his artillery and heavy baggage undisturbed from the camp of La Lune to Grand-Pré.

Nothing can be more uncandid and inconsistent than the manner in which the Duke of Brunswick's conduct has been criticised.—It is asserted in the first place, that he inconsiderately led his army into a situation so desperate, that if they advanced, they must be all either killed or taken prisoners ; if they retreated, one half must be cut in pieces ; and if they remained where they were, they must be starved.—Taking this account to be the true state of the case, one would imagine that he should be allowed some credit for having extricated his army from so perilous a situation—instead of which, we are told, that even in this, he shewed less address than the enemy, from whom he delivered them.

In confirmation however of my own opinion on this subject, I shall only add, that it was the Duke of Brunswick who first proposed the truce, and not Dumourier—that during the whole time it continued, his artillery and baggage were moving to Grand-Pré, and that as soon as he knew they were safe there, he renewed his original manifesto, which he must have known would put an end to the truce. All those circumstances render it probable that, however acute and able Dumourier may be, the  
truce

truce was more advantageous to the Duke of Brunswick than to him.

On the thirtieth of September the Duke raised his camp at La Lune, and retreated with his whole army by Grand-Pré to Busancy. The Austrians, under the command of General Clairfayt, separated from the Prussians, passed the Meuse at Stenay, and took the nearest way to the county of Luxembourg; while the Prussians passed at Dun, and pursued the course of the river to Verdun. Their march was slow, on account of the number of their sick, as well as of the badness of the roads; but in such order, that although pursued by numerous detachments of French, no considerable advantage was gained over them during this whole march.

When Dumourier saw the enemy in full retreat, and that they could attempt nothing of importance in that quarter this season, he determined to go to Paris. He wished to settle with the Executive Power a plan of operations for an immediate expedition into Austrian Flanders, whither he had ordered a great part of his army, and where he expects to gather fresh laurels. What gives a high idea of Dumourier's vigour of mind is, that in adhering to the plan of operations which he had traced out for the defence of France, he resisted the injunctions which he frequently received from the administration at Paris, and took the whole responsibility upon himself. At Paris there was so great an alarm, on hearing that some German irregulars had been near Rheims, that they wished



wished him to fall back. And Seryan, the war minister, has the following expressions in a letter to Dumourier, dated the 27th of September.

“J'espere toujours, mon cher Général, que vous resterez convaincu, ainsi que nous, que vous n'avez plus un moment à perdre pour vous rapprocher de la Marne, afin de couvrir par-là Chalons, Rheims, et les superbes campagnes du Soissonnois et de la Brie : que nous importe actuellement que l'ennemi occupe les plaines arides de la Champagne ?”—And he ends the same letter with these words, “Personne ne vous voit tranquillement à Saint Menehould tandis que les houlans viennent insulter les fauxbourgs de Rheims\*.”

When we reflect on the character of the people Dumourier was accountable to for his conduct, and how little they are disposed to forgive what they consider as reprehensible, we must the more admire his steadiness. It is now generally said, that if he had fallen back to Chalons and Rheims, the enemy might have got possession of a plentiful country, and perhaps wintered in France.

† I hope, my dear General, that you are as much convinced as we, that you ought, without a moment's delay, to move towards the department of La Marne, on purpose to protect Chalons, Rheims, and the fertile fields of the Soissonnois and La Brie. Of what importance is it to us that the enemy are in possession of the barren plains of Champagne?

We cannot with patience think of your remaining at St. Menehould, while the Houlans are insulting the suburbs of Rheims.

He

He left Bournonville to harrafs the Prussians during their retreat. That General followed them as far as Busancy; and then being ordered to the army intended against Flanders, he was replaced by the Generals Kellerman and Valence, who with all their zeal and activity, were not able to gain any advantage over this retreating and sickly army.

Dillon, on his part, followed that body of Austrians and Hessians who had attacked his post at Biesme, and were now retreating by another route towards Verdun.

He had about 16,000 men with him, and the army he pursued was more numerous, and consisted of well disciplined troops. Having heard that the Austrians and Hessians were irritated against each other, and having been informed that the Landgrave himself had spoken with anger against the conduct of the Austrians, he wrote a letter from Domballe to that Prince, which he sent by M. Gobert his Adjutant General, at the same time that he dismissed M. Lindau, an Hessian officer, who had been taken prisoner. In this letter, after some general reflections, respecting the rights of nations to change their governments, which it is not probable the Landgrave will think conclusive, Dillon assures him that he is surrounded in such a manner that it will be very difficult for him to escape; but that, if he will set out the following morning for his own country, and entirely evacuate the French territories with his troops, he will be allowed to pass undisturbed

turbed by certain posts which were at that time occupied by the French.

Dillon saw that it was not in his power with 16,000 men to prevent the retreat of 20,000; but he thought if he could persuade the Hessians to separate from the Austrians, he might cut off the latter. It was not very likely indeed that the Landgrave would be so far deceived as to accept of Dillon's offer; but whatever may be thought of the depth of the stratagem, it is evident that Dillon meant to serve, not to injure France; for he shewed the letter to General Galbaud before he sent it, and he also gave a copy of it, with the Landgrave's answer, to Sillery, Carra, and Prieur, the Commissioners of the National Convention\*.

But what puts Dillon's intentions out of all question is, that on the 4th of October, he intercepted a letter from the director of the district of Etain, to the Landgrave of Hesse, dated the first of October, by which it appeared that the Landgrave was expected to take his head quarters at Etain; on which Dillon sent a courier from his camp at Sivry-la-Parche to General Favart at Metz, to inform him, that he intended to attack the enemy on their retreat, and that they were to retreat by Etain; to prove which he transmitted the intercepted letter to Favart, and desired him to send a detachment from the garrison of Metz to co-operate in harassing them.

\* Rapport des Commissaires de la Convention.



He adds, "Faites avertir tous les villages, que tous les citoyens reprennent de la confiance, que l'on sonne le tocsin par-tout, toutes les armes seront bonnes pour harceler l'ennemi, et tomber dans chaque défilé sur ses équipages. Faites proclamer que tous ceux qui lui fourniront une livre de pain, sont traitres à leur pays. Je les poursuivrai sans relâche s'ils se retirent; je les combattrai s'ils restent," &c.\*

General Dillon's letter to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Landgrave's answer, were transmitted to the Convention without any commentary. They were read in the Assembly, and, instead of appearing meritorious or innocent, they had the most malignant and most unnatural construction put upon them by some of the members. Merlin of Thionville exclaimed, that this letter was a complete proof of Dillon's being a traitor. This Merlin is a most zealous accuser; he seems to think that by murdering the reputation of others, he shall accumulate a vast stock of fame to himself, as the Indian imagines that he becomes the immediate possessor of all the courage and dexterity of the enemy he kills. Merlin, not satisfied with the interpretation he had given to this letter to the Landgrave, reverted to Dillon's

"Let this be proclaimed in all the villages, that the citizens may recover their spirits; let the alarm be sounded every where: all sort of arms will serve to harass the enemy, and to assist in attacking their carriages in every defile. Let it be proclaimed, that all who furnish him with a single pound of bread will be considered as traitors to their country. I will pursue them without relaxation if they fly—I am determined to fight them if they remain," &c.

proclamation

proclamation at Pont-sur-Sambre, and other parts of his conduct previous to the 10th of August; on all which he put the most malignant construction, and finished by proposing a decree of accusation against him.

"One general officer," said Kersaint, "has already answered your decree of accusation by a victory—How do you know that Dillon was not obeying the orders of Dumourier when he wrote the letter in question?"

Couthon, in answer to Kersaint, declared that no decree of accusation could be better founded than that now proposed against Arthur Dillon—He said he would not take into consideration any thing laid to his charge before his letter to the Landgrave, but in the same breath he recapitulated whatever was most likely to injure him in the mind of the Convention respecting his conduct long before that time, and immediately after the tenth of August.

Couthon labours under a disease which renders him unable to walk, or even to stand; and which seems to have communicated its malignity to his disposition. He is always brought in the arms of his servant from his carriage into the Assembly, and is indulged in the liberty of speaking without rising from his seat—He has the reputation of being a man of acute parts; there is a mildness in his countenance that is not found in his opinions, which are generally violent and severe. His speech rendered the enemies of Dillon more furious—One member said that he seemed inclined to make

no other use of the army committed to his charge but as a safe-guard to conduct the enemies of France out of the country; another observed that it was highly expedient that the Convention should charge the Executive Power to take particular care that Dillon did not make his escape. And a third ascended the tribune and made a motion which terminated the climax of intemperance and injustice—He proposed that the three Commissioners should be immediately arrested as traitors for not having suspended Dillon from his command, the moment he shewed them a copy of the letter he had written to the Landgrave. Nothing could be more uncandid and captious than the spirit shewn by those men on this occasion; they must have known that Dillon had pursued the Hessians and Austrians with indefatigable activity to Verdun, and that it was in consequence of the batteries which he lost no time in erecting against that town, that it soon after surrendered, but they could not forget Dillon's conduct on his first receiving the accounts of the Proceedings at Paris on the 10th of August. Prudence and good policy indicate a different conduct; the best way surely to conciliate men to a revolution, is to present them with greater advantages under the new government than they enjoyed under the old.—But these furious reformers, whilst they declaim against the tyranny of the ancient government, present nothing in support of the new, but accusations, poniards, and guillotines. With much difficulty, instead of an immediate accusation, they at last came to a resolution, that the Executive Council should to-morrow  
state



state to the assembly all the circumstances relative to General Dillon's conduct to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, before they made any decree respecting him.

October 13.

I went this morning to the Conventional Assembly, and was admitted into the box where, on the 11th of August, I had seen the unfortunate family, now prisoners in the Temple, seated.

The hall and galleries were uncommonly crowded, because Dumourier, who arrived in Paris last night, was expected to come to the Assembly this day.

The forenoon was spent in debates, in which Buzot, Vergniaud, and some others of the most distinguished members of the Convention took part. About one o'clock I saw one of the huissiers go to the President, and I heard him acquaint him, that Dumourier attended in the adjoining room.

The President, however, did not interrupt the debate, which continued for at least an hour after this information was given. It was known to some in the Assembly, that Dumourier was waiting to be called in; several members thinking the President was ignorant of that circumstance, went up and whispered him—he signified by a nod that he already knew it, and allowed the debate to continue.

It

It struck me as singular, that a General who in such critical circumstances had rendered the most important services to his country, and was just returned victorious, should be treated with such coolness.—I have no doubt it was done on purpose, and, in the republican spirit, intended as a hint to the General not to overvalue his importance.

At last, however, the President read a letter from General Dumourier, in which he informs the Convention, that he desires to pay his duty to them, and waits their orders. A member moved that he should be admitted directly; and the General, attended by several officers, appeared at the bar, amidst the applause of the assembly, and the acclamations of the galleries.—He is considerably below the middle size, of a sharp and intelligent countenance, and seems rather above 50 years of age. He pronounced the following discourse, throwing his eyes occasionally on a paper which he held in his hand.

“ Citoyens Législateurs—La liberté triomphe par tout : guidée par la philosophie, elle parcourra l'univers, et s'assieoir sur tous les trônes, après avoir écrasé le despotisme, après avoir éclairé les peuples. Les loix constitutionnelles auxquelles vous allez travailler, seront la base du bonheur et de la fraternité des nations. Cette guerre-ci sera la dernière; et les tyrans et les privilégiés, trompés dans leurs criminels calculs, seront les seules victimes de cette lutte de pouvoir arbitraire contre la raison.

“ L'armée, dont la confiance de la nation m'avoit donné la conduite, a bien mérité de la patrie : réduite, lorsque je l'ai jointe le 28

AOÛT,

Août, à 17,000 hommes, désorganisée par des traitres que le chatiment et la honte poursuivent par tout, elle n'a été effrayée ni du nombre, ni de la discipline, ni des menaces, ni de la barbarie, ni des premiers succès de 80,000 satellites du despotisme. Les défilés de la forêt d'Argonne ont été les Thermopyles, où cette poignée de soldats de la liberté a présenté, pendant quinze jours, à cette formidable armée une résistance imposante. Plus heureux que les Spartiates, nous avons été secourus par deux armées animées du même esprit que nous. Nous nous sommes rejoints dans le camp inexpugnable de Sainte Menchould. Les ennemis, au désespoir, ont voulu tenter une attaque, qui ajoute une victoire à la carrière militaire de mon collègue, et mon ami, Kellerman.

“ Dans le camp de Sainte Menchould, les soldats de la liberté ont déployé d'autres vertus militaires, sans lesquelles le courage même peut être nuisible : la confiance en leurs chefs, l'obéissance, la patience et la persévérance. Cette partie de l'empire François présente un sol aride, sans eau et sans bois, les Allemands s'en souviendront : leur sang impur fécondera peut-être cette terre ingrate qui en est abreuvée. La saison étoit très pluvieuse et très froide : nos soldats étoient mal habillés, sans paille pour se coucher, sans couvertures, quelquefois deux jours sans pain, parceque la position de l'ennemi obligeoit les convois à de longs détours, par des chemins de traverse très *mauvais* en tous tems, et *gâtés* par des pluies continuelles ; car je dois rendre justice aux *regisseurs* des vivres et des fourrages, qui, malgré tous les obstacles des mauvais chemins, de la saison pluvieuse, des  
mouvemens



mouvements imprévus, ou que j'étois obligé de cacher, ont entretenu l'abondance autant qu'il leur a été possible; et je suis bien aise de publier que c'est à leur soin qu'on doit la bonne fanté des Soldats. Jamais je ne les ai vus murmurer. Les chants et la joie auroient fait prendre ce camp terrible pour un de des camps de plaisance, où le luxe des rois rassembloit autrefois des automates enrégimentés pour l'amusement de leurs maîtresses ou de leurs enfants.

“ L'espoir de vaincre soutenoit les soldats de la liberté; leurs fatigues, leurs privations, ont été récompensées: l'ennemi a succombé sous la faim, la misère et les maladies; cette armée formidable fut diminuée de moitié; les cadavres et les chevaux morts jalonnet la route; Kellerman les poursuit avec plus de 40,000 hommes, pendant qu'avec un pareil nombre je marche au secours du département du Nord, et des malheureux et estimables Belges et Liegeois.

“ Je ne suis venu passer quatre jours ici que pour arranger avec le Conseil les details de cette campagne d'hiver. J'en profite pour vous présenter mes hommages. Je ne vous ferai point de nouveaux sermens; je me montrerai digne de commander aux enfans de liberté, et de soutenir les loix que le peuple souverain va se faire à lui même par votre organe\*.”

The

\* Citizen Legislators—Liberty is every where triumphant; directed by philosophy, she will pervade the world, she will crush despotism, open the eyes of mankind, and seat herself on the throne of the universe. Those constitutional laws which you are about to frame will serve as a basis for the

The loud applause of all the deputies and spectators was renewed several times after Du-

mourier

the union and happiness of nations. The present war will be the last of wars, and the tyrants of the world, deceived in their criminal calculations, will be the sole victims of this contention between arbitrary power and reason.

The army entrusted to my command by the public confidence has deserved well of their country: reduced, when I joined it, to 17,000, and weakened by the machinations of shameless traitors, who, I hope, will one day meet the punishment they deserve, it was never intimidated by the numbers, the threats, the barbarity, or even by the first success of 80,000 slaves of despotism. The straits of the forest of Argonne was the Thermopylæ in which that handful of the soldiers of liberty, for fifteen successive days, presented a resistance which kept that formidable army in awe. More fortunate than the Spartans, we were succoured by two armies animated by the same spirit with ourselves; they joined us at the impregnable camp of St. Menchould. The enemy, prompted by despair, hazarded an attack, which adds a victory to the military career of my friend and colleague Kellerman.

At St. Menchould the soldiers of freedom displayed other military virtues, without which valour itself may become hurtful, namely confidence in their officers, obedience, patience and perseverance. That part of France is barren, and destitute of wood and water. The Germans will remember it. Their slavish blood with which it is drenched, may perhaps render it more fertile. The weather was uncommonly wet and cold, our soldiers were ill clothed, they had neither straw to lie upon, nor blankets to cover them, and sometimes they were for two entire days without bread; for such was the position of the enemy, that our convoys were obliged to make a circuit, by cross roads, at all times bad, but then rendered worse by the late excessive rains. Here I must do justice to the commissaries of stores and forage; notwithstanding all the obstacles of bad roads, bad weather, and of sudden movements, which I could not always foresee, and, when I did, was often obliged to conceal, they supplied us as well as possibly could have been expected. And

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mourier had concluded, before the President could make a reply, which he did at length in the following terms—"Citoyen Général—L'accueil que vous venez de recevoir de la Convention Nationale, exprime mieux que je ne le pourrois faire sa satisfaction de vos services, et la haute opinion qu'elle a conçue de vos talens et de votre patriotisme. Continuez, Citoyen Général, continuez à diriger les soldats de la liberté dans le chemin de la victoire; continuez à vous couvrir de lauriers; continuez à bien

it is with pleasure I take this opportunity of declaring, that the health of your army is owing to their extraordinary care and diligence. Amidst all the difficulties I have stated, the soldiers were never heard to murmur; on hearing the songs of joy which resounded from every corner of our warlike camp, it might have been mistaken for one of those camps of pleasure in which luxurious monarchs formerly assembled regimented automata to manœuvre for the amusement of their children and mistresses.

The hope of victory supported the soldiers of liberty. Their fatigues and hardships have been fully compensated. The enemy, sunk under fatigue, famine and disease. That formidable army was diminished one half; directed by the dead bodies of men and horses, Kellerman pursues them at the head of forty thousand men.

I purpose to march immediately with the same number to succour the department of the North, and to the relief of our esteemed and unfortunate friends, the inhabitants of Brabant and Liege.

I am come hither, for four days, to settle with the council the plan of our winter campaign—I avail myself of the opportunity to pay my duty to you. I bind myself by no new oaths; but I will shew myself worthy of commanding the sons of liberty, and faithful in support of those laws which the sovereign people are now about to frame through you.

fervir



servir la patrie, et vous acquerrez de nouveaux droits à la reconnoissance de la république.

“ La Convention nationale vous invite, ainsi que vos frères d’armes à la séance \*.”

One of the deputies then moved, that the Convention should authorize the President to demand of General Dumourier what he thought respecting the affair of Dillon.

This was done accordingly, and Dumourier readily answered, that he had read a copy of the letter in question; that he considered it merely as a bravado on the part of Dillon, and of little importance, especially as General Dillon had soon after pursued the Hessians with the utmost vigour.

Having said this, Dumourier, with the officers who accompanied him, entered the hall—Many of the deputies rose and saluted him, after which he seated himself among them.

Two officers then appeared at the bar, one of whom addressing the assembly said, “ Legislators, the Adjutant General of the army of the

\* Citizen General, — The reception you have met with from the National Convention is a stronger testimony than any expression of mine could be, of their approbation of your conduct, and of their high opinion of your talents and patriotism. Citizen General, continue to lead the soldiers of liberty in the road of victory—continue to gather laurels—persist in serving your country, and you will acquire new claims to the gratitude of the republic.

The National Convention invites you and your brethren in arms to a seat amongst them.

North presents you with a standard taken in the midst of fire and slaughter from the French emigrants; as soon as it was seen by the soldiers of liberty, they broke through the squadrons of those traitors, and tore it from them."

The President having made a suitable answer, Vergniaud observed, that several standards which had been won from despotism were already hanging in the hall; that as those were honourable trophies of the victories of the republic, they were worthy of being exposed to the view of the citizens:—but as for this, he added, around which the enemies of their native country, a set of assassins whom you have destined to the scaffold, fought:—this odious flag ought not to shock your sight; I move, therefore, that it be delivered into the hands of the executioner, and publicly committed to the flames.

The proposal was applauded and adopted. Dumourier remained in the Assembly till it broke up. He was dressed in the uniform of a General Officer, blue and gold lace; he is said to be a great deal less attentive to dress than is usual in France; but in any dress I would know him to be a Frenchman. He possesses the peculiar vivacity of air and manner that distinguishes the natives of this country. I understand that he is remarkably entertaining and agreeable in conversation; that though he has indulged in pleasure, and yielded to dissipation, yet he is capable of the most indefatigable exertion, both of body and mind, when the importance of the object requires it; that he has  
always

always been fonder of pleasure than of money, and ever ready to sacrifice both for renown. His enemies, who allow that he possesses great acuteness of mind, and the most unshaken courage, throw doubts upon his steadiness in other respects. His military talents have been sufficiently evinced in the course of the last memorable campaign: without the singular circumstances which raised him to command, and drew them into action, the man who with inferior force baffled the attempts of the most renowned Generals of the age, would have remained undistinguished and subordinate to those on whom birth without talents, or age which has not profited by experience, so often devolves the command of armies.

Paris, October 13.

The minds of the Parisians are greatly elevated by the wonderful success of the French arms. The repulse of the Austrians at Lille, the fortunate expedition of General Anselme into the county of Nice, the reduction of Savoy, the rapid progress of Custine on the Rhine, and above all the retreat of the Prussians, are events of a nature to have raised the national vanity of a people less susceptible of its influence than the French.

They seem convinced that their arms are irresistible, and they begin to indulge the most romantic ideas. Of all failings to which mankind are liable, vanity is the most comfortable; and perhaps it may be fortunate for a people entangled in circumstances rather vexatious, to



have this for a compensation. But should the Convention be affected in the same way, it may be attended with afflicting consequences to the country. I heard some things this day in the Assembly, and also from one of the deputies, with whom I had some conversation since, that give reason to suspect that the romantic notions above alluded to are not confined to the people without doors.

The late successes are imputed, besides the valour of the troops, to the superior dexterity, sagacity, and natural quickness of the French cannoniers over those of all other nations.

It has been proposed to erect a monument in the town of Varennes in commemoration of the flight of two kings, meaning Lewis XVI. who fled to that town, and the King of Prussia, who lately retired through it; those who make the proposal give this inscription for the monument, *Regibus fugatis*; and add this reflexion, *Dans peu, chaque état aura sa Varennes*.

Every stroke of satire directed against kings is sure of being well received by the Convention.

The War Minister seems sensible of this.— He transmitted to it lately an intercepted letter, which he pretends is from some person at Berlin, addressed to the Prussian Minister, Bischofswerder, in which the writer asserts, that the people are highly displeased at the part their sovereign has taken against the French nation, and that the following epigram on that subject is

is read with delight—"Un jour Dieu voulut épargner une ville à cause d'un juste qui y étoit; aujourd'hui un prince Allemand veut faire périr toute la France pour un imbécille couronné qui s'y trouve."

But in the midst of this exaltation on account of their success against external enemies, and of of all this severity against kings, the representatives of the people seem not to have it in their power to punish the insolence of certain persons within the city of Paris.

The Convention decreed, that the election of the municipal officers of Paris should be by ballot. Certain turbulent people, who with the electors to be overawed by the mob, disapproved of this, and prevailed on the section of the Theatre François to proceed according to the old method of voting aloud.—For this act of disobedience and contempt the President and Secretary of the section were ordered to appear at the bar of the Assembly.—Being questioned by the President, they answered in a style that by no means indicated repentance; yet as they did not avow an intention of persisting in their disobedience, a very slight apology was accepted, and the two culprits were admitted to the honours of the sitting—of course this feeble attempt to maintain authority will encourage disobedience. Buzot took this occasion to urge the necessity of adopting the measure of having a body of troops at the command of the Convention, to ensure obedience to its decrees, and protect the persons of the deputies.

There are certain members of the Assembly, who, deriving their importance entirely from the favour of the rabble, are prepared to oppose this measure; but as the majority approve of it, their opposition, it is thought, will be soon overcome.

October 14.

I was sitting this morning in the Conventional Assembly, when suddenly the firing of cannon was heard—This produced some signs of emotion among the deputies, who, like me, were ignorant of the cause.

Having been accustomed to such sounds on account of victories, or some other occasion of public rejoicing, a noise of this nature was formerly apt to excite chearful and agreeable ideas only. The impression I had in the present instance was of a very different nature. The firing which took place when the Royal Family were sitting in the same box on the 10th of August, instantly sprang up in my mind; an idea closely linked with that of the execrable second of September, and the dreadful peal which was the harbinger of three continued days and nights of blood and slaughter.

Those unpleasant reflections were removed when I was informed that the firing in the present case was on account of the festival which had been decreed for the success of the arms of the Republic in Savoy.

I imme-



I immediately left the Assembly, and went through the gardens of the Thuilleries to the Place de Louis XV. now called the Place de la Revolution.

A statue with the emblems of Liberty, was placed on the pedestal on which the equestrian statue of Lewis XV. formerly stood. On the east and west side of the pedestal was inscribed, République Française, 1792: on the south side, Entrée de Montesquiou à Chambéry, Capitale du Duché de Savoye; on the north, Entrée d'Anselme, dans le Comté de Nice et Mont-alban.

A large body of the national guards, with a number of armed citizens from all the different sections of Paris, with displayed banners, marched in procession to the place.

A deputation from the National Convention, and another from the Municipality of Paris, attended at an amphitheatre erected for the purpose, near the statue of Liberty. A great number of Savoyards of both sexes and all conditions, holding each other by the hand, and with every appearance of joy, preceded by a band of music, marched between two long ranks of men armed with pikes, to the square, and were received by the acclamations of an immense number of spectators. All the colours and banners of the different regiments assembled in the square were arranged around the statue of Liberty. A numerous band of music then performed the hymn of the Marseillois, and that favourite song was sung by some chosen singers.

of the band; and most of the people with whom this vast and magnificent square was crowded joined in the chorus. After which the cannon were repeatedly fired, and in the intervals the sky resounded with universal shouts of *Vive la Republique!*

The hymn of the Marseillois is called for every evening at every theatre in Paris, and nothing can exceed the enthusiasm with which it is heard.

I went last night to a new musical piece called the Ephesian Matron. The house was pretty full, but the appearance of the audience was very different from what I recollect to have been usual on such occasions before the Revolution.

The women still display fancy and some degree of elegance in their dress, but the men are universally dressed with the utmost simplicity. I sat in the parquet next to a remarkably tall man wrapt in a drab coloured great coat, who seemed between sixty and seventy years of age. On his withdrawing, I was told that this was Admiral d'Estaing, who commanded the French fleet and army in America and the West Indies in the last war.

The conduct of the Count d'Estaing was more universally approved of during the late war, than since the Revolution.

He was Commander of the national guards of Versailles in October 1789, when a mob from Paris broke into the palace, murdered  
some

some of the guards, and committed many shameful excesses.

M. d'Estaing appeared to be at once a friend to the principles of the Revolution, and an assiduous courtier.

In a nation whose constitution is mellowed by time, and where the subjects have experienced the blessing of that liberty which the spirit of their ancestors obtained, united to the tranquillity arising from the monarchical form of their government; a love of freedom not only is compatible with attachment to the monarch, but, as long as he governs according to the principles of the constitution, those sentiments mutually strengthen each other.

But, in a nation on whose government the scions of freedom are but newly engrafted, at the expence of the monarch, and without having hitherto produced any palatable fruit, the case is different. The struggles and animosities between those who produced the alteration, and those who opposed it, are too recent; mutual suspicion and a sense of mutual accusations are still existing; and he who attempts to be the friend of both parties, is trusted by neither.

M. d'Estaing has taken no part in the latest transactions; he seems to desire to live unnoticed, and hitherto he has been undisturbed.



October 15.

The emigration of the noblesse has been so very extensive, that it is rare to meet with any person of name within the walls of Paris, particularly any who have ever been employed or entrusted with the ancient government. Yet those of this description, who venture to remain in France, are perhaps in less danger in Paris than in a provincial town; because in the capital there is always a sufficient force to suppress *partial* and *incidental* tumults, provided the magistrates are disposed to call it forth, and make use of it; whereas in the villages and provincial towns a tumult may be excited, which the magistrates, were they ever so much inclined, are unable to quell.

A groundless suspicion, or a calumny invented and propagated by an enemy, may kindle the fury of a few fanatics, and the head of the person who is the object of it, may be fixed on a pike before the magistrate can assemble force to protect him.

His innocence is made apparent when it is too late; every body laments his fate: the murderers however are excused, because they were misled (*égaré* is the palliative word used on such occasions) by the noblest of all errors, too much zeal for their country's good; and tranquility is restored only till fresh suspicions and calumnies excite new murders.

I heard a petition read in the Convention from the widow of a sword-cutler of Charleville.

A report

A report had been spread that he furnished arms to the enemy: this immediately roused the people, and in the first fury of their civisme, as it is called, they cut off his head. Very soon after it appeared that the report was false, and that the unfortunate sword-cutler had always been a zealous patriot. Some of the deputies seemed very much shocked at this; but I heard one observe, with great coolness, that he was sorry for what the people of Charleville had done; and then added, with an air of sagacity, "but the best people in the world are liable to be mistaken."

However ready the French are to accuse individuals, the inhabitants of the most despotic country are not more afraid of speaking treason, than the French are of saying any thing to the disadvantage of the *people*: no nation was ever more indulgent to the caprice of its tyrant, than France is at present, to the most capricious and bloody of all tyrants, Le Peuple Souverain.

Some of the battalions which have been lately raised at Paris, though retained in tolerable subordination while they continued within the capital and surrounded with the national guards of all the sections, have been guilty of great excesses since they left it—The first division of the gendarmes à pied de Paris, on entering lately into the town of Cambray, broke open the prison, and set all the prisoners at liberty except one man, whom they, in their wisdom, thought justly confined.—On these troops leaving the town, all the prisoners whom they had set free were

were again confined by order of the magistrates; but the second division passing through the same town the day following, threw open the prisons once more, and beheaded the unfortunate person whom their companions had kept in confinement when they gave freedom to all the other prisoners. They murdered, in the same manner, several of their officers, who were endeavouring to prevent their excesses, and bring them to order. An official account of those alarming transactions has been read to the Convention, and was immediately referred to the war committee; but what makes it doubtful whether any effectual measures will be taken to punish those assassins, is, that Marat continues to palliate, and almost to justify every crime of this nature that is committed, whether by the populace or soldiers: until the Assembly are able and willing to suppress this Journal, and punish the Author, what hope is there that they will have it in their power to remedy or prevent that blood-shed and anarchy to which the speeches and writings of this man so greatly contribute?

October 16.

The committee appointed to superintend the camp and entrenchments forming near Paris, made some propositions yesterday to the Convention. They were not agreed to: one member said, that the pitiful farce of *la precaution inutile* had been acted too long, and proposed that an immediate stop should be put to that work, which, after some debate, was decreed.

All



All ideas of defence are now thought useless. — Nothing but attack, and taking vengeance on the enemies, and maintaining the dignity of the Republic, is now spoken of.

If, however, there be a dignity in assuming some degree of loftiness in transacting with the powerful Potentates who invaded the country, there surely is none in affecting a dictatorial tone with the weakest of their neighbours. This domineering spirit however appears too much in the conduct of the Convention towards Geneva, the comfortable condition of whose citizens for a series of years has sufficiently proved that the happiness of the subject does not depend on the extent of the State's territories. Geneva has been considered as the nursery of freedom, and has long maintained, by the prudence of her councils, that independency which was obtained by the valour of her citizens, whose prudent conduct the French would do well to imitate, if they wish the Republic of France to be as durable as that of Geneva.

Some members of the Convention have taken offence, because Geneva lately thought proper to demand those succours from the cantons of Berne and Zurick, to which they are intitled on emergencies like the present by existing treaties.

Although France had not invaded Savoy, the state of disorder in which the former has been, the excesses which have been committed by the French army in various parts of the country,  
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in spite of the decrees of the Convention at Paris, rendered it highly expedient for the Republic of Geneva to take every measure in her power to secure the town from a sudden attack. For, however well disposed the Convention might be, who could say that a band of patriots, some independent portion of the people souverain, would not, without consulting the Convention, seize on Geneva? But measures of precaution became still more necessary when France declared war against the King of Sardinia, and when a French army was ready to invade Savoy; for, as the possession of the city of Geneva might be advantageous to either of the armies, in order to preserve a strict neutrality, it was necessary to guard it from both. The Republic therefore received within the walls of Geneva 1600 men of the militia of Zurich and Berne; a force which, joined to that of the citizens, might secure the town from being seized by a sudden assault, but could not be considered as an act of hostility against France, even although there had been no previous treaty between Geneva and the Swiss cantons by which she was entitled to claim this succour.

Geneva is acknowledged by all the powers of Europe as an independent state: it seems contradictory to acknowledge sovereignty and independency in a state, and then complain of so natural an exercise of it as the calling in the aid of neutral powers to enable it to maintain strict neutrality.

The Convention seems, however, to have been guilty of this contradiction, and at the same

same time displayed unbecoming pride in superciliously passing to the order of the day at the meeting of yesterday, after hearing the explanations from the council of Geneva read, and in approving of the haughty conduct of their commissioners towards that state. This ill accords with the prudent and pacific tenor of the declarations which the National Assembly formerly made, and stamps credit on the assertions of the enemies of the Revolution, that the treatment which Geneva now receives from the new Republic is a specimen of what all the neighbouring States may expect.

Although it may be thought natural that a monarch, particularly an arbitrary one, should from motives of vanity, avarice, or ambition, endeavour to extend his dominions by war and conquest; yet the vanity or avarice of a private citizen of Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, or any other part of France, can be little gratified by the accession of new provinces. France, therefore, being now a Republic, the ambitious and restless spirit of her kings, that fatal source to which the other States of Europe have imputed almost all the wars of the two last centuries, being now dried up, long peace and tranquillity is to be expected when this new form is acknowledged and established.

This reasoning seems plausible *à priori*:—it is unfortunate, however, that the history of the world shews that Republican States have been inspired with as violent a desire of conquest, and as restless an ambition, as any monarch from the age of Alexander to that of Lewis XIV. And



And the spirit which the new Republic of France begins already to manifest, gives no reason to expect that the philosophy from which she boasts her origin, has taught her more moderation than her predecessors.

Independent of the dislike one naturally feels of an act of power unsupported by justice, I confess I could not see my old friends, the citizens of Geneva, treated in this manner without indignation.

When the Convention is considered as maintaining the independency of their country against a powerful league, and undismayed by the idea that all the powers of Europe may join in the combination, it is impossible not to respect their firmness. But when they are seen behaving with haughty injustice to a neighbouring people devoid of the power of resistance or retaliation, and respectable from their talents and virtues only, the conduct of the Convention excites a very different sentiment.

October 16.

The Convention shewed more moderation this day in their conduct towards the Republic of Genoa, than they had manifested towards Geneva; although for many obvious reasons it might have been expected they would have been partial rather to the latter.

The minister for foreign affairs informed them, that in a quarrel which had happened in the port of Genoa, between some Venetian soldiers

diers and the crew of the French frigate *Juno*, the flag of the frigate had been pulled down and torn in pieces; in consequence of which the Venetians had been imprisoned, and condemned by a decree of the Senate of Genoa, to provide the frigate in a new flag before they should be set at liberty. The minister gave it as his opinion, that as he understood the French sailors were the aggressors, no farther notice should be taken of this affair, but that the Convention should remain satisfied with the decision of the Senate of Genoa.

Several of the members differed in opinion from the minister. One deputy said, that the decision of the Senate of Genoa would have been considered as sufficiently satisfactory under the ancient government, because then ships of war were given by the favour of princes, of their mistresses, and of their valets; and those appointed to command them were of as frivolous characters as those by whose influence the appointments were obtained. But France being now formed into a Republic, where talents, exertion, and the manly virtue alone can lead to promotion, or situations of confidence, and above all, at this time, when the cause of freedom is triumphant, more ample redress should be insisted on.

I perceive that many people expect a great improvement, both in the army and navy, in all essential points, from the new order of things which began in France on the 20th of last September.

It

It will soon be put to trial whether the rough Republican qualities will render men better officers than that gallant spirit and delicate sense of honour, which, in spite of effeminacy and corruption, always formed part of the character of the French noblesse.

I have had frequent conversations with deputies who are supposed to have considerable weight in the Convention, concerning the probable fate of the King: they seem to be persuaded that the majority of the Assembly, including the most respectable members, are inclined to banishment, and are endeavouring to postpone every motion tending to bring on the trial till the people have cooled so far as to be satisfied with such a sentence, which they fear is not the case at present. A remark made by one of the deputies, it is thought had great effect on the Convention: the remark was, "Charles I. eut des successeurs, les Tarquins n'en eurent point\*."

It is a dreadful thing to think that a judicial or legislative assembly, supposed to be supreme, and which ought to be influenced by no considerations but those of justice and public good, should, in a matter of this moment to their country, and to their own consciences, be under any kind of restraint.

As far as I can perceive however, the real citizens, or bourgeoisie of Paris, by no means

\* Charles the First had successors, the Tarquins had none.

desire



desire the death of the King; and if by the people is understood the profligate idle rabble of the suburbs, and the wretches who are hired to clamour in the public places, what probability is there that they will ever cool, or be satisfied with any decision except what those who hire them, or their own savage dispositions, suggest?

This very day, in the Convention, I had an opportunity of judging how little the hopes given by the deputies above mentioned are to be relied on. For at a time when there was no question regarding the King, a member ascended the tribune and said, "He was going to remind the Convention of a part of their duty to their country, of the highest importance, namely, the process of Lewis Capet (this is the name they generally give the King) which had been too long postponed; he therefore demanded that a day might be fixed for his trial, that the wrongs of the nation might be avenged by the blood of that traitor."

By trial it is evident he meant execution. I understand his name is Hardy, deputy of the department de Seine Inferieure. — He is a well-looking young man; but the harshness of his sentiment formed a strong contrast with his countenance. This gave rise to many intemperate and foolish expressions from other members who supported the motion for the trial, which they also used as synonymous with execution. One talked of the martyrs of Liberty who had fallen before the palace on the 10th of August, whose ghosts called for vengeance on the perjured Lewis. And when another suggested

gested that "the papers respecting the King's treachery should be printed and delivered to the members, and that it would require a considerable time before judgment could be pronounced;" a third asserted, that "Lewis Capet could not be considered as King, because royalty was abolished in France—What is he then? why, a simple individual, in a state of confinement for trial: but the law, continued he, expressly says, that every person confined for a crime shall be brought to his trial within the space of 24 hours of his being arrested; the assassin Lewis has been too long confined, and ought to be brought to trial and punished as soon as possible."

On this, as on other occasions, I observed that the people in the galleries redoubled their applause as often as cruel things were said, and violent measures proposed. This seemed to become a motive with those who wished to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, to proceed in making new proposals; the last always more violent than the former. Yet the discussion was not premeditated, at least it seemed to me to arise accidentally.

Ruhl, one of the members for the department of the Lower Rhine just arrived from Strasbourg, informed the Convention, that he had on the road passed a party of dragoons who were conducting thirteen Emigrants to Paris, who had been taken in arms on the frontiers—He was afraid that those unhappy men were in danger of being destroyed by the populace as soon as they should arrive, and thought it his duty to acquaint the Convention,

tion, that measures might be taken for their safety until they should be legally tried. Whether Ruhl introduced the Emigrants with an intention to divert the Convention from the trial of the King, I know not; but for some time it had that effect, the debate turned to the subject of the Emigrants—But one member seemed displeased with this, and abruptly exclaimed, There are others more guilty than all these Emigrants, and whose trial is more pressing. “Je veux parler de Louis XVI. je demande que son procès commence.”—I mean Lewis XVI. I demand that he be brought to trial.

The debate recommenced respecting the trial, and soon became as intemperate as at first. From the hard unfeeling things that were uttered, one might have thought that the hearts of the disputants were of flint: they struck fire from each other so fast, and wrought themselves into such heat, that I expected some violent resolution would have been taken directly.

Tête à tête, or in a very small circle, the French are nearly as calm, and generally more ingenuous, than most of their neighbours; but a numerous assembly of Frenchmen almost always become turbulent.

Barbaroux of Marseilles then rose, and had the address to put an end to the debate: the argument which proved effectual, did little honour to those on whom it had influence. He began by asserting the right of the Convention, in consequence of the power transmitted by the people, to judge the King.—

After



After having expatiated on this topic at some length, he added, "But it is expected by all Europe that you will proceed in a business of that important nature with all possible prudence and deliberation:" [Here something of a murmur was heard in the gallery]—because, added he, raising his voice, perhaps Lewis and Marie Antoinette are not the only criminals whom the sword of justice has to strike."

He no sooner uttered this, than the incipient murmur ended in acclamations of applause.

—The certainty which this implied not only that the king and queen would be tried, but condemned and executed, and that several others would meet with the same fate, seemed to please them so much, that they were satisfied with a delay, which perhaps would not have otherwise been carried, and which was all that the moderate part of the Convention (who were convinced of the injustice and imprudence of proceeding against the King) durst at that time propose, or had reason to expect.

October 17.

General Dumourier set out early this morning to take the command of the army destined against Austrian Brabant. Some nights ago, accompanied with some of his officers, he attended the meeting of the Jacobins: it is good policy in the General of a French army to pay this piece of respect to a society which has so great and such extensive influence.—He addressed them to this purpose: "Citizens, you have  
torn

torn the history of despotism, you have saved France, your efforts in the cause of Freedom are engraved by the hand of Liberty on the hearts of all good Frenchmen: we are going to finish what we have begun, and we will fulfil your expectations, or perish in the attempt."

—Danton, who was president, answered him to the following effect; "Citizen General, when La Fayette took flight, you did not despair of the safety of the Republic; you rallied our troops weakened by treachery and division; you repelled with a few soldiers the numerous armies of tyrants; you have deserved well of your country:—under your direction the republican pike shall break the regal sceptre, and the cap of liberty shall annihilate the diadem—We are your brethren and your friends, and your name shall make a shining figure in our history." Other members spoke in praise of Dumourier, who at length retired amid the applause of the society.

I went this evening to the society of the Jacobins, and was witness of a scene of a different kind, and which was little to be expected so soon after what is above described.

It will be proper to mention here an affair which happened about eight days before the General's arrival at Paris.

Dumourier had written a letter to the Convention, informing them, that the Parisian battalions of Mauconseil and Republicain had committed a crime which threw dishonour on the French nation, by massacring four Prussian deserters

deserters in the town of Rethel, in the department of Ardennes. The particulars of this shocking affair he transmitted to the minister of war, and they appear in a letter from General Chazot to Dumourier, which was read in the Convention. The four men in question were dragoons, who deserted from the Prussians to Rethel, where they enlisted in the French army. Some soldiers of the battalions above mentioned, having met the four deserters in a tavern, picked a quarrel with them, abused them as traitors to their country, dragged them into the street, and threatened to behead them. Chazot, who was in the town, hearing of this, sent orders to protect the men; but the greatest part of the soldiers of both battalions being now joined, formed too strong a body for any force the general had to use against them: all that his messengers could obtain of those mutineers therefore was, that they should carry the deserters before the General, which was done accordingly. He used every argument and every persuasion (for no other means were in his power) to prevail on these mutinous madmen to use no violence to the deserters: so far from succeeding, some of the wretches cried out, *Si le Général s'oppose à nos desirs, il faut l'ex-pédier \**.

Chazot, finding that his remonstrances only rendered them more furious, pushed through the crowd, and with difficulty escaped to his horse and rode away. He was no sooner gone than the wretched deserters were cut in pieces.

\* If the General opposes our wishes, he must be cut off.



The absurdity of this abominable deed almost equals its barbarity, and this remark may be made with justice on many transactions in this country since the 10th of August. Common prudence might have prevented some of the most unjustifiable, without the suggestions of humanity, and humanity would have prevented them, even where prudence did not exist. This atrocious deed destroyed the hope of weakening the Prussian army by desertion, which had been so great an object with the Convention, that a pension of 100 livres had been decreed to every soldier who should desert from the Prussian army to the French; and while it put an end to every expectation of this kind, it also destroyed every hope of quarter, or mercy, when any of themselves fell into the hands of the Prussians\*.

To expiate this guilt, and vindicate the character of his army, Dumourier had given orders to General Bournonville to march a body of troops with some pieces of artillery against the two battalions, who were ordered to ground their arms, and submit, on pain of being immediately put to death. They submitted accordingly, their colours were sent to their Sections, their arms and uniforms taken from them, and the men themselves ordered in that disgraceful state to Paris, there to wait the pleasure of the Convention.

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It

\* I have heard it asserted since my return to England, that there was a considerable desertion from the Prussians to the French at the Camp of St. Menchould, and that a fear of its increasing was the chief reason of the Duke of Brunswick's retreat; which reason he took great pains to conceal. But as the Duke's retreat is sufficiently accounted for independent of that, I have allowed the account of it to remain as it was in my Journal, according to the intelligence I received at Paris.

It afterwards appeared that the unfortunate men who had been thus murdered, were not native Prussians, but Frenchmen, who had enlisted in the Prussian army before the Revolution, and had seized the first opportunity of returning to their countrymen.

Marat having heard of this circumstance, published in his journal, and posted on the walls, accusations against the General, and vindications of the assassins. The former he describes as a debauchee, as an old valet of the court, and, which includes every thing that is wicked, as an aristocrate. The latter he represents as worthy men, full of patriotism, which prompted them to anticipate by a few hours the blow of the executioner on the necks of four traitors. He asserts, that Dumourier, Chazot, and others, calumniate those innocent battalions, on purpose to render the citizens of Paris, and particularly the General Council of the Commune, *to whom France owes the revolution of the tenth of August*, odious to the country; that the four deserters were not Prussians, as had been perfidiously published by Dumourier, but French Emigrants, taken in arms, and therefore deservedly put to death by the patriotic battalions.

He likewise accuses Dumourier of having connived at the escape of the Prussians out of France, when he might have forced their camp, and obliged them to lay down their arms; and also for having quitted his own army at this critical time, on purpose to carouse with drunkards and opera girls.

I never was more surprised in my life than  
when

when Marat, having ascended the tribune at the Jacobins, began to repeat these assertions. The man's audacity is equal to any thing, but what I thought full as wonderful was the degree of patience, and even approbation, with which he was heard. The house was crowded, and it contains a very numerous audience. When Marat is in the tribune, he holds his head as high as he can, and endeavours to assume an air of dignity—He can make nothing of that; but amidst all the exclamations and signs of hatred and disgust which I have seen manifested against him, the look of self approbation which he wears is wonderful—so far from ever having the appearance of fear, or of deference, he seems to me always to contemplate the Assembly from the tribune, either with the eyes of menace, or contempt.

He speaks in a hollow croaking voice, with affected solemnity, which in such a diminutive figure would often produce laughter, were it not suppressed by horror at the character and sentiments of the man.

After having insisted for some time on the guilt of the murdered, the innocence of the murderers, and the cruelty of Dumourier, he informed the society, that he had thought it his duty to question the General in person, that he might learn from himself what he had to say in defence of his conduct towards those two meritorious battalions. Marat then gave a very circumstantial account of his having called on Dumourier the night before he left Paris; that he had been accompanied by two members of the National Convention, one of them I think he called Bentable, the name of the other I do not recollect. At Dumourier's



they were informed that the General was at the Theatre des Variétés, and was not to sup at home. "A number of carriages, and brilliant illuminations," continued Marat, "indicated to us where this son of Mars was supping with the sons and daughters of Thalia; we found soldiers within and without: after traversing some chambers filled with pike-men, musketeers, dragoons, hussars, the warlike suit of the General, we came to a spacious room full of company, at the door of which was Santerre, commander of the Parisian guards, performing the functions of a lackey, or an usher. He announced me aloud, which I was sorry for, because it might have made those persons disappear whom I should have wished to have seen; but I *did* see some, whom it is of use to mention for the better comprehending the operations of the ruling party in the Convention, and letting the public know who are the state jugglers with whom the commander of our armies is most connected. To pass over the officers of the national guards, the aid-de-camps, and others, who paid their court to the great Dumourier, continued he, I saw in this august company the ministers Roland and Le Brun, attended by Kersaint and La Source. As my name had thrown the company into confusion, I probably did not remark all who were present, I only remember these conspirators whom I have named; but it was early, and it is probable that Vergniaud, Buzot, Rabaud, Lacroix, Guadet, Gensonné, and Barbaroux, were also at this entertainment; for they all belong to the same gang. At sight of me, continued Marat, looking very fierce, Dumourier was appalled."

At this a number of the society of Jacobins burst into laughter; and one person near me said,

"That  
 be the first thing that struck me was the murky  
 figure

"That is what he was not at the sight of the Prussian army."

When the laugh was over, Marat, with an unaltered countenance, resumed; "At sight of me Dumourier was appalled; which is not to be wondered at," continued he, erecting his head, standing on his tiptoes, and looking very fierce, "since I am known to be the terror of all the enemies of my country." He proceeded to inform the society, that he had desired to speak with Dumourier in another room; and being there, had asked an account of all the particulars relative to the four deserters: that the General had told him he had already sent those particulars to the War Minister, and to the Convention, and had no other account to give." Marat concluded by saying, "that he had put other questions to the General, which disconcerted him so much that, instead of attempting to answer them, he was forced to sneak away abruptly with affected disdain; and so having made it clear that he could not justify his conduct, I left this assemblage of generals, and actors, and ministers and mountebanks, to pass the night together.

Marat endeavoured to enliven this recital with a few jokes, which excited laughter in the Jacobin Society, but had not that effect on me.—Marat attempting pleasantry, increases the horror which his appearance creates; it gives something of the sensation which I imagine I should have, if a murderer, after cutting a man's throat by a dexterous stroke of a knife, should smile in my face, and tip me the wink.

October 18.

When I went to the Convention this morning, the first thing that struck me was the murky

figure of Marat standing on the steps which lead to the tribune, watching an opportunity of entering it: there was a great unwillingness to hear him, and he waited near two hours before he obtained the right to speak, some other member being always pointed to by the President.

Marat often exclaimed against this to no purpose, and seizing a moment when the tribune was empty, he began to address the Assembly without the President's permission; but his voice was drowned in the outcry against him from all corners.—At length I heard De la Croix, the president, say to those near him, “Je crois qu’il vaudroit mieux laisser parler ce gueux là;” and raising his voice, he added, “Marat, je vous donne la parole, mais je ne vous promets pas de vous la maintenir\*.

Marat then entered the tribune, and began the same invective against Dumourier that I heard him pronounce last night at the Jacobins.—He was interrupted by cries of indignation from all sides: one member addressed the President to silence him, and not permit a man who was a disgrace to the Assembly to calumniate citizens of the greatest worth: another added, that his calumnies were praise; all seemed to hold him in execration.

During the uproar, Marat stood with an undisturbed air, looking down on the assembly. When the clamour abated so that his voice could be heard, he said, with an air of irony, and in a tone of sorrow, “I am really grieved to behold  
such

\* I believe we had best allow the fellow to speak.

Marat, I give you the right to speak, but I cannot promise to maintain it with you long.



such indecent behaviour in the Assembly—Is it not singular that the person whom you try to overwhelm with unjust clamours, should be more concerned for your honour than you are yourselves? Is it not extraordinary that you should be so much prejudiced against a man animated with patriotism?”—Here there was an universal laugh; but when he attempted to resume his invectives against Dumourier and Chazot, the clamour recommenced, and the Assembly shewed the utmost impatience.

Kersaint then informed the Assembly that the foldiers of the battalion called Republican, sensible of their error, had of themselves delivered up the traitors who had excited them to mutiny and murder, and had promised to their general to efface the memory of their crime by their conduct against the enemy.

Marat, seeing that every body rejoiced in the punishment of the ringleaders, had the boldness to assert that he had never justified the conduct of the battalions. The cry in contradiction of this assertion was so universal that he could not proceed, and a member immediately exclaimed: “A man, whose name it is disagreeable to pronounce, dares to assert, from that tribune, that he never justified the assassins of the unfortunate deserters: in contradiction of which, I do now assert, that last night, at the Jacobins, he said that they merited a civic crown.—Citizens, you may judge of the character of this man from what I have told you. Since he has been chosen as a deputy by the people, and since we are doomed sometimes to hear him, I now move, that as often as he comes out of that tribune, it may be purified before another member enters it.”

F 4

After

After this, the assembly passed to the order of the day. Marat descended, and strutted through the hall, affecting to despise the murmurs which arose against him.

It seems extraordinary that a man so odious, and whose acquaintance every body seems to shun, should venture to attack, in such an abusive manner, a popular and successful general. Yet the difference between the manner in which Marat was heard in the Jacobin Society, and in the Conventional Assembly, is remarkable; and I see people who are persuaded that Marat is supported in secret by those who in public disavow any connection with him.----The same people have also observed, that the prevailing opinion in the Jacobin Club always becomes sooner or later the prevailing opinion in the National Assembly, and that those suspicions which Marat endeavours to raise against Dumourier, are spread at the instigation of one who has very great influence in that society. That person, however, would do well to remember the words of Orosmane in Zayre:

“ Quiconque est soupçonneux invite à le trahir.”

The presidency of De la Croix ended this day; and Guadet, of the department of the Gironde, was elected by a great majority. Guadet seems to me one of the most acute men in the Convention; his speeches are always perspicuous and correct, and sometimes finished with an epigrammatic neatness.

October 19.

Two days ago a letter was read in the Convention from the commissioners to the army of the

the North, acquainting the Assembly, that a great number of volunteers had applied for liberty to retire at the end of the campaign.

Some members had represented the danger of permitting this in the present circumstances, and proposed a decree against it. But this measure having been thought harsh to men who had, as volunteers, risked their lives in defence of their country, in a time of great danger; instead of a decree, it was moved, that the convention should send an address to all their armies, inviting the volunteers to prolong their service until the country was declared to be out of danger.---A committee of four, namely, Condorcet, Danton, Hercault de Sechelles, and Vergniaud had been accordingly appointed to draw up the address; and I heard Danton read it to the Convention this morning. It was rather too long; and although applauded by a few, it was very evident that the generality of the assembly did not much relish it.

A member then rose, and, taking a paper from his pocket, said, that he had composed an address, which he begged leave to read.---This surprised me a good deal; but I did not observe that it produced the same effect on any member of the Convention:---it seemed to me a striking instance of that ease with which the natives of France do certain things which would mightily disconcert some of their neighbours. I hardly think, that in any public assembly in England, after a committee had been appointed to draw up an address, any individual of the assembly would offer to read a composition of his own, as preferable to that of four of the most distinguished members in it.---This gentle-



tleman, however, ascended the tribune, and read his performance without embarrassment. It had the fate of most productions which are read by their authors, whether in public or private assemblies; it gave far more satisfaction to the reader than to the audience; with this difference, that here the audience did not take the trouble of pretending to admire.

The air of indifference with which this was heard did not discourage another member from offering a third address.—By the style of this performance, and the solemn manner in which it was read, it was evident that the author wished to be considered as a man of depth and learning: he pronounced some sentences with a warmth, which he, no doubt, thought would prove victorious; the warmth with which they were delivered, however, was surpassed by the coldness of their reception.—Towards the conclusion, resuming his address to the volunteers, he said, *Enfin soldats philosophes.*

This unexpected epithet raised a laugh that overpowered a yawn which had been gaining very fast on the audience for some considerable time.

I fully expected that so many unfortunate attempts would have prevented any new specimens from being offered, and consequently, that the address of the committee would have been adopted. I was mistaken in both conjectures, for the Assembly had no sooner recovered their gravity, than *Faure*, deputy from the department of Lower Seine, desired leave to read one of his compositions. He was a man of about sixty years  
of

of age, very plain in his dress, and devoid of affectation in his manner.---His address was in the following words:

**Citoyens Soldats,**

La loi vous permet de vous retirer: le cri de la patrie vous le défend. Les Romains ont-ils abandonné leurs armes quand Porfenna étoit encore aux portes de Rome? L'ennemi a-t-il passé le Rhin? Longwy est-il repris? Le sang François, dont on a arrosé la terre de la liberté, est-il vengé? Ses ravages et sa barbarie sont-ils punis? A-t-il reconnu la majesté de la République et la souveraineté du Peuple? Soldats, voila le terme de vos travaux: c'est en dire assez aux braves défenseurs de la patrie. La Convention Nationale se borne à vous recommander l'honneur François, l'intérêt de la République, et les soins de votre propre gloire\*.

The laconic energy of some expressions in this address, pleased the Convention; it was adopted, ordered to be printed, and transmitted to the armies.

October 20.

This was a day of exultation in the National Assembly.---Letters were read from their commissioners, giving an account of the retaking of the town of Longwy, and that the Germans were now entirely driven out of France. Flattering

**\* Citizen Soldiers,**

The law allows you, but the voice of your country forbids you, to retire. Did the Romans quit their arms, when Porfenna was still at the gates of Rome? Has the enemy yet repassed the Rhine? Is Longwy retaken? Has the blood of  
your

tering accounts also came from the army of Cuffine; and that of the South: and a paper entitled, *Adresse de la Société des Amis de la Liberté, et de l'Egalité séante à Chamberri*," was read.---It begins with this expression---"*Legislateurs du Monde\**:"---and, in the middle of the address to the assembly, the King of Sardinia is apostrophized in the following terms: "O Roi de Jérusalem et de Chypre assez long-temps tes satellites ont appesanti sur nos têtes ton joug de fer!--il est tombé, nous l'avons foulé aux pieds, &c. &c.†." It is much in the same strain throughout; and what will appear more extraordinary, this piece of bombast was ordered by the Assembly to be printed in French, Spanish, and German, and transmitted to the departments and to the armies.

But a scene took place in the Convention yesterday, after I left it, which forebodes more misery to the country than can be compensated by the most brilliant success. An address was read by deputies from the 48 sections of Paris, against the armed force which was some time since proposed, and the modification of which is now under

your countrymen, with which the enemy has bedewed this land of liberty, been avenged? Have his ravages and his barbarities been punished? Has he acknowledged the Majesty of the Republic, and the sovereignty of the People?

Soldiers, these are the end of your labours: nothing more need be said to the brave defenders of their country. The National Convention has only to recommend to your care, the honour of the French Nation, the interest of the Republic, and your own personal glory.

\* Legislators of the World.

† O King of Jerusalem and Cyprus, too long have thy satellites oppressed our necks with thy yoke of iron—it is fallen at last, and we have spurned it under our feet!



der the deliberation of a committee. By this address the Convention is told, "That it would be putting the members on a footing with tyrants, to surround them with guards.—Pretorian guards. —That Paris made the Revolution of the tenth of August—and that Paris would maintain it." They also admonished the Convention, that there are those present who contemplate their conduct, and weigh their decisions; and finally, that the sections of Paris consider the project of a guard to the assembly as dangerous and odious.

The answer of Guadet, the President, was sensible and spirited. He said, that the exercise of the sovereignty of the French people, and all the rights of the Republic, resided in the Convention, which knew how to defend them, and which, though always willing to receive counsel from good citizens, would receive orders from the nation only.

But, in asserting that the Convention can defend the rights of the Republic, he asserts more than is true:—that an address, in such insolent terms, should be allowed to be read, is a proof not only that the Convention has *not* that power, but that the authors of the address know this, and are determined to do all they can to prevent its ever having it, and for that reason oppose the establishment of the guard in question; yet nothing can be more evident than that, until the Convention has the power of imposing silence on the galleries, of protecting the persons of the deputies, and of enforcing its decrees, there can be neither wisdom nor stability in the government.—For, were we to suppose that a few members of the Convention, of distinguished capacity

city, were supported by a majority in measures of wisdom and moderation: yet if they are liable to be insulted by a mob, those deputies who support them one day from conviction, will desert them another through fear, and produce that confusion, and those contradictory measures which have of late occurred, and which, if not remedied, will end in complete anarchy and ruin.

A sufficient body of guards, under the entire disposal of the Convention, would prevent this. —But it appears by this address from all the sections, that those who oppose the establishing any guard for the Convention, have not only the direction of the General Council of the Commune, but also of all the sections of Paris. It is true that the majority of the other departments of France, and of course the majority of the deputies, are for this guard; but I sometimes converse with those who are able to form a much juster notion of what is likely to be the consequence than I can---who are of opinion, that Paris will carry the point against all the other departments: and that whatever the *opinion* of the deputies may continue to be, the majority of their *votes* will, in a short time, be against the armed force.

Indeed it is evident, that, although all the departments of France are, in theory, allowed to have an equal share in the government, yet, in fact, the single department of Paris has the whole power of the government; the other departments govern by representation---Paris rules in person. The Majesty of Le Peuple Souverain resides in the capital, and by dint of insurrection, which is always in the power of certain leading persons

persons here, Paris gives the law to the Convention and to all France, and will continue to do so till an armed force is established, and placed entirely under the command of the National Convention.

October 21.

The city of Marseilles, on hearing of the danger to which the Convention is exposed from the mob, and the people in the galleries, raised a battalion, which was ordered to march to Paris for its protection. The intrepid and decisive behaviour of the *Fédérés* from that city, on the tenth of August, have made a strong impression on the minds of the Parisians; and a body of seven or eight hundred men from Marseilles are considered as equivalent to a much greater number raised elsewhere. As this battalion comes for the express purpose of protecting the Convention, its approach has given disquietude to that party who wish the Assembly to be overawed by the people in the galleries: endeavours have been used, therefore, to create a prejudice against the Marseillois in the minds of the populace of Paris--and particularly in the patriotic *Sans Culottes* of St. Antoine and St. Marcelle. ---It is circulated that they are brought to the capital for some purpose of aristocracy. The name of Marseillois is in such high estimation, that this insinuation has hitherto had little effect.

The battalion is arrived, and this day sent a deputation to the Convention. A member of the deputation pronounced a speech full of energy at the bar.---“We set out,” said he, “from the shore of the Mediterranean, to offer our lives  
in



in defence of our brethren of Paris, then threatened by the soldiers of despotism, but that danger is over, and the only enemies which remain for us to fight, are those who desire to erect a *tribunitial* or *dictatorial* power in France.---Legislators, you are delegated by the eighty-three departments, we have as great an interest in you, therefore, as the citizens of Paris---We know that certain men tell the Parisians that the Convention has a design of establishing pretorian guards around them for the purposes of tyranny---one word is a sufficient refutation of that calumny.---*We shall belong to those guards.*

Representatives, the children of Marseilles know how to obey, as they know how to fight; they hate *dictators* as they hate kings, and you may count upon them for the maintenance of your laws, and of your authority."

Another person came afterwards to the bar of the Assembly and accused Marat in the severest terms.---"That blood-thirsty man," said he, "after having preached murder and carnage within the city of Paris, now disperses his journals among the armies, to excite the soldiers to mutiny. The electors of Paris have dishonoured themselves in choosing such a person, and you will partake of that dishonour; you will cover yourselves with the blood which Marat has caused to be shed, if you do not expel him from among you, and punish him for his crimes."

Some members endeavoured to interrupt the speaker, and the President reminded him that he ought to speak with respect of a representative of the people.

"It

"It is not Marat, the representative of the people, I attack," resumed the speaker; "it is Marat the journalist, the incendiary, against whom the French Republic, and human nature, calls for vengeance."

A member said, that this petition against Marat was not in due form; that before the accusation could be sent to the Committee of General Safety, they ought to collect all the proofs that were against him.--"If you insist upon *all*, they must be brought in a waggon," said another.

The protectors of Marat, for it is evident that this man has protectors in the Convention, said every thing they could to persuade the Assembly to pass to the order of the day, without further notice of this petition, or accusation; but in spite of all their efforts it was ordered to be transmitted to the Committee of General Safety.

The address from the Sections of Paris against the armed force, is a manœuvre of Danton and his friends, and their having the influence to obtain it, gives a higher idea of their strength than has been hitherto entertained.

The deputation of the Marseillois is considered as a measure of Roland and the Girondists, to give the Convention an idea of the protection it has to expect, till such time as a more regular armed force shall be decreed.

October 22.

A very short time after the 10th of August  
those

those who had been united against the court divided, and became hostile to each other. Roland had been chosen minister for the home department. He has the appearance of a man of sincerity, and, whether he deserves it or not, he has the reputation of a man of probity, is supported by a great number, who are considered as the best intentioned in the Assembly, and also by some who are distinguished for their talents; among the latter are, Vergniaud, Guadet, Buzot, Brissot, Rabaut de St. Etienne, Jean Baptiste Louvet, La Source, Kersaint, Petion, Lanjuinais, and Barbaroux.

Roland was likewise intimately connected with Claviere, Servan, and Le Brun; the two first had formerly been in the administration with him, and Le Brun was placed as Minister for Foreign Affairs, after the 10th of August.

The confidence which the people, and the majority of the Assembly put in the integrity of Roland, and the support he had from so many men of the best abilities in the Assembly, excited the jealousy of certain members, particularly of Danton, who could not bear to see a man, whom he considered as far inferior in understanding to himself, in possession of so much credit.

It is imagined that Danton had formed a plan for preventing Roland from continuing in administration, and which, if it had fully succeeded, would also have excluded him from being of the Convention.

It is even believed by some that he was elected  
a deputy



a deputy to the Convention without his own application or knowledge; according to the constitution, no member of the National Assembly can hold the office of minister, it was imagined that Roland would resign the situation of minister, that he might be of the Convention; and it has since appeared, that there were certain flaws in his election as a deputy, which, as is supposed, were known to those who had brought it about, and which would have rendered it void: and thus, had he resigned his office of minister, as Danton did, he might afterwards have found himself precluded from the Conventional Assembly. But before this could be brought to trial, it was proposed in the Convention that Roland should be *invited* by the Assembly to remain in administration. This proposal had not been foreseen by Danton; he opposed it with all his might, and in this he was joined by all his friends. The good qualities of Roland having been enumerated by those who were for the invitation, that very circumstance, with the popularity of the man, were laid hold of, as grounds of jealousy, and reasons against his being invited. One deputy put them in mind, that a Greek, in the senate of Athens, had declared that he would not give his vote for Aristides, because he was tired of hearing him called *the just*; another deputy said, that as often as he heard any member of the Assembly greatly applauded, he trembled for his liberty.

If these reasons were used as pretexts, and in the expectation that they would have the effect to prejudice the Assembly against Roland, those who urged them must have a poor opinion of the understanding

derstanding of their audience.—If, on the contrary, they really thought that a man's being considered as a just man, rendered him dangerous as a minister, their audience had a right to think meanly of theirs.—I perceive an affectation in the Convention to adopt maxims and usages from antiquity, which, however just and applicable they might be at a former age, and in a different country, are by no means suitable to France in the present circumstances. This disposition of misapplying general maxims, very often renders the weak the dupes of the worthless.

Notwithstanding the opposition, however, the Convention was on the point of decreeing, that Roland should be invited to remain in administration; which Danton perceiving, he could no longer restrain his ill humour, but peevishly said, “If you are determined on this measure, I move that the invitation be extended to Madame Roland, who is known to assist her husband with her counsel\*.”

This illiberal sally was heard with disapprobation by the Assembly, and would have had no effect in preventing the invitation which had been proposed, had not Cambon spoken against it: he observed, that to *invite* a minister to continue in office, was in some degree to weaken his responsibility; and Buzot declaring that this observation had so much weight with him as to make him alter his opinion, the invitation was no more insisted on.

The day following, Roland, in a letter to the Convention, expressed his concurrence in sentiment with those who thought that to invite a minister

\* Madame Roland has the reputation of being a most accomplished and amiable woman.

minister to continue, would be derogatory of the rigorous principles of republicanism, and tended besides to render him less responsible than he ought to be: that, however, the Convention having even deliberated on such a measure, he considered as highly honourable to him, and a motive to engage him to retain his office of minister, and to waive that of deputy: that the danger which he plainly perceived would attend him in the first situation, was another inducement for his retaining it; but that his chief motive, however such a declaration might be construed by his enemies, was, that he thought his continuing minister would, in the present circumstances, be advantageous for his country.

Perhaps nothing but conscious integrity could induce a man of sense to hold such language: but certainly nothing but a strong conviction of its truth on the mind of the Convention, and a sentiment of high esteem for the person who used it, could prevent it from being thought presumptuous. Roland's letter excited no such sensation. — The instant it was perceived that he had resolved to continue in office, the greatest joy appeared in the Assembly, and his letter was ordered to be printed, and sent to all the departments.

Roland has continued minister for the home department ever since. I have seen him frequently in the place appointed for the ministers, which is immediately within the bar, and opposite to the President. None of them ever come to the Assembly unless they have been sent for, or when they have something to state, on which they wish to have the instructions of the Convention



vention—and they withdraw as soon as they have made their report, without taking any part in the debate.

On such occasions I have seen some of them obliged to remain several hours before they were heard. For, if a debate is already begun when a minister enters, he is generally allowed to sit unnoticed in his place till it be finished. Some of Roland's addresses to the Convention are distinguished for correctness and elegance. It is said, that they owe the latter to his wife: this report is founded entirely on presumption, Mrs. Roland being a woman of taste and literature; and it is circulated not so much with a view to add to her reputation, as to detract from that of her husband.

When he enters, there is generally a whisper of approbation in the Assembly, and, while he is speaking, I have often heard the deputies near me say, with fervour---*Ab le digne homme! le brave ministre!* What proves that he and those connected with him enjoy the confidence of the majority of the Convention, is, that the President and the secretaries have hitherto been chosen from among his friends.

Roland was the popular minister, whose dismissal raised so great a clamour against the Court. One of the pretexts for the shameful irruption of the populace into the King's palace, on the 20th of June, was to present a petition for his recall: if Roland himself had any hand in promoting that insurrection, he has little claim to the epithet which was applied to Aristides. Those who wish to succeed him and his friends in  
their

their offices, represent them to the people as in all points as dangerous to liberty as ever the Court was: so that it is not improbable but that Roland and his friends may fall the victims of the example given on the 20th of June, of overawing the legislative power, and attacking the executive, by a mob.

The Duke of Rochefoucauld was at that time President of the Department of Paris, and was zealous to bring the authors of that insurrection to punishment---the zeal he shewed upon that occasion was thought to be the remote cause of his murder.

The assassinations formerly mentioned, that were committed at Clermont, at Cambray, at Charleville, by the volunteers as they passed through these places, seem to have proceeded from want of discipline and from the caprice, prejudice, and cruelty, which are so apt to gain upon vulgar and uninstructed men, assembled in great numbers, and under no controul. Great pains have been taken to spread the opinion, that some other murders which have been committed in the provinces, were entirely owing to a sudden, unpremeditated commotion of the people--particularly the horrid assassination of the Duke of Rochefoucauld. It is generally believed, however, that the murder of this nobleman originated in more distant causes, and more concealed promoters.

M. de la Rochefoucauld was a man of humanity and candour. Unseduced by the advantages enjoyed by those of his own rank, he felt with generous sympathy for the distressed situation of others:

others; he beheld with satisfaction the overthrow of the old arbitrary system of government, in the hopes of seeing one more agreeable to justice erected in its stead---A friend to monarchy as well as freedom, M. de la Rochefoucauld had in his contemplation a monarch of milder aspect than his country had ever enjoyed---more limited in its nature, but with sufficient power in the Prince to defend his prerogatives, and sufficient means in the people to resist tyranny; more agreeable to humanity, more conducive to the general happiness not only of the people, which is infinitely the most important object, but also of the monarch himself, if he happens to be a man of sense.

The Duke of Rochefoucauld was President of the Department of Paris on the 20th of June 1792, and did all in his power in the first place to prevent, and afterwards to discover and bring to punishment, the instigators of the scandalous irruption of an armed multitude into the King's palace.

Having made frequent allusions to the transactions of that day, I shall here give a short account of them.

For several days before the 20th of June it was known all over Paris, that the inhabitants of the Fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marcelle intended to march in arms to the Thuilleries, on pretence of presenting a petition to the King--but in reality with the design of intimidating and forcing him to sanction two decrees of the National Assembly, which he had hitherto refused.

The



The council of the department of Paris, of which M. de Rochefoucauld was President, did every thing in their power to prevent an attempt of a nature so unjustifiable, so contrary to the principles of the constitution, and which might be attended with the most fatal consequences.

This council made representations to the Mayor of Paris, to the Procureur of the Commune, and to Santerre, who at that time was commander of the battalion of Les Enfants-trouvés.

But unfortunately those to whom the council of the department made these representations, and whose peculiar duty it was to prevent the intended procession, were the very people who had planned it, and were secretly promoting it with all their influence.

The inhabitants of the two suburbs began to assemble in arms, on the morning of the 20th of June, at the place where the Bastile formerly stood. As accounts of this came from all quarters, to these secret instigators, some of whom were magistrates, they could not decently avoid making a shew of opposing it. When the multitude were at the height of enthusiasm, and ready to march, these magistrates appeared in their municipal scarfs, and gravely *admonished* the people to depart peaceably home, lay up their arms, and go to bed. "You have acted *your* part," said one of the rabble; "move out of the way, and let us act ours." The procession began at nine in the morning; the battalion of St. Antoine marched first: between it and that of St. Marcelle banners were carried, sufficiently expressive

pressive of the design of this ceremony, if it had been at all doubtful. On one were inscribed these words,

Tyrans, tremblez, ou soyez justes,

Et respectez la liberté du peuple\*.

On another,

Louis, le peuple est las de souffrir †.

On a third,

Tremblez, tyran, ta derniere heure est venue ‡.

On a fourth,

Le rappel des ministres, la sanction ou la mort §.

Other banners were carried, ornamented with vile allegorical figures, and suitable inscriptions.

They marched to the hall of the National Assembly, and required permission to walk through it in procession. A member made a speech  
against

\* Tyrants, tremble, or be just,  
And respect the liberty of the people.

† Lewis, the people are weary of suffering.

‡ Tremble, tyrant, thy last hour is come.

§ The recall of the ministers, the sanction, or death.

against the granting of this request, giving for his reason, that the petitioners were armed, and in great numbers; but, as this orator's eloquence, while it opposed the mob's being let in, proved that they could not be kept out, the Assembly graciously granted the prayer of the petitioners, and, in consequence, was amused for three hours with a procession of armed men, accompanied by women and children, marching through the hall. Among other ingenious emblems, a pair of old black breeches were carried on a pole, with this comfortable inscription, *Libres—et sans culottes\**.

From the National Assembly the armed multitude went to the palace, where there was a considerable number of troops on duty; but no orders having been given to resist, and many portions of the multitude who formed the procession being conducted by men dressed in municipal scarfs, the gardens and courts of the Tuileries were crowded in an instant. One body marched with more regularity than the rest, dragging some pieces of cannon with them, and conducted by Santerre, and Legendre the butcher.—The multitude soon after rushed into every apartment, calling aloud, that they must see the King; they had a petition to present. M. Acloque, commandant of the second legion of national guards, having placed some grenadiers at the door of the apartments nearest to the King's, told two municipal officers that if they would prevent the mob from proceeding, he would inform the King of their request, and that he was persuaded his Majesty

G 2

\* Free—and without breeches.



jeſty would receive twenty of their number, according to the law—He then went to the door of the King's apartment which he found ſhut—he knocked, and begged that he might be inſtantly admitted, ſaying that he came to ſave the King's life—The door of the chamber was opened; he found the King, with the Queen, the Prince, the Princeſs Royal, Madam Elizabeth, the King's ſiſter, and the following gentlemen: the Marechal de Mouchy, Beaulieu, Miniſter of the Finances, Lajard, Miniſter of War, Terrier de Monciel, Miniſter of the Home Department, the count d'Hervilly, Marechal de Camp and Commander of the Horſe Guards.

M. Acloque, perceiving that they had their ſwords drawn, and ſeemed determined to ſacrifice their lives in defence of the royal family, entreated them to ſheath their ſwords, otherwiſe they would encreaſe the danger in which the King was—In a ſhort time a great noiſe was heard at the door, the rabble were breaking it open, with pikes, axes, and the butt end of muſquets. The King himſelf ordered the doors to be thrown open:—before this was done, the ends of ſome of the muſquets and pikes had been driven through the door—twenty or thirty of the mob burſt into the room.

M. Acloque accoſted them with a firm voice: “Citizens, reſpect your King—the law commands it; and we will all periſh rather than ſuffer his being inſulted.”—One of the company at the ſame inſtant calling out, *Vive la nation!* *Vive le Roy!* the intruders ſtopped ſhort.

It

It was then proposed to the King, that he should stand on a seat in the room commonly called L'Œil de Beuf, to prevent his being pressed upon, and that he might be seen by the people, who were entering in great numbers; to which he consented.—The Queen, at the King's desire, with the royal children, went into the adjacent room; but Madam Elizabeth kept constantly by his side, rejecting every entreaty that was made by the King himself and others to quit him for an instant.

On the sixth of October 1789, when the mob marched from Paris to Versailles and broke into the palace, the Princess Elizabeth attached herself to the person of the Queen, whose life she knew was at that time more threatened by those ruffians than that of her brother; and on the present occasion, as he was in greater danger, she adhered to him.

Four grenadiers of the national guards appearing at the door, the Princess, who had betrayed no symptom of fear on her own account, burst into tears at sight of them, and said, "*Ah! Mes-sieurs, defendez le Roi.*"

These four grenadiers, an officer of chasseurs, a cannonier, with the gentlemen above mentioned, placed themselves around the King and the Princess Elizabeth, and with admirable constancy kept off the pressure of the crowd, and protected the person of the King for above three hours; the Marechal de Mouchy, in spite of his great age, remaining the whole time. All the adjacent rooms mean-while, swarmed with a mixed rabble of men and women, armed with pikes, sabres, sticks

sticks with knives fixed at their ends, fusils and pistols; many of them calling, "En bas le veto, au diable le veto!" and some of them shewing so much fury, that those around the King's person had difficulty in keeping them off.

One fellow, mounted on a chair, spoke to the King in the most audacious manner, requiring the recall of the patriot ministers, meaning Roland, Claviere, and Servan, whom the King had a little before dismissed; he also required that the two decrees should obtain his approbation.—To which his Majesty answered with firmness, "Je ferai ce que je croirai devoir faire; mais ce n'est ni le lieu, ni le moment, de me faire une pareille demande\*."

A red cap was reached to the King at the end of a pike, by a man who cried, *Vive la nation!*—The King said, "*La nation n'a pas de meilleur ami que moi †.*" On which the other insolently added, "*Eh bien, donnez nous en la preuve en mettant le bonnet rouge, et en criant 'Vive la nation! \*'*"

On attempting to put on the red cap, it was found too small for the King's head; but a grenadier having stretched it upon his knee, the King put it on, and wore it as long as the mob remained.

At

\* I will do what I ought; but this is neither the place nor the time to make a request of that nature.

† The nation has no better friend than I am.

\* Prove it then, by putting on the red cap; and by crying, *Vive la nation.*"



At one time, when the noise and confusion was greater than usual, a grenadier, addressing the King, said, "Sire, n'ayez pas peur." On which he answered, "I am not in the least afraid, friend." So saying, he pressed the soldier's hand to his breast, that he might feel that his heart beat calmly.

Among those armed with various weapons one ruffian brandished a pike with the heart of a calf stuck on the point, from which hung a label, with this inscription, "Cœur des aristocrates †."

To the noisy requisitions that were made from all corners of "Otez le veto ! rappelez les ministres !" the King answered, that he would do what was just.—Legendre the butcher, thinking this expression rather equivocal, took this opportunity of giving the monarch a specimen of his eloquence.—"*Monsieur*," said Legendre—the King seeming a little surprised at this new style and manner, for this man's manner is as extraordinary as his style—" *Monsieur*," repeated Legendre, "écoutez nous ; oui, *Monsieur*, vous êtes fait pour nous écouter, vous êtes un perfide, vous nous avez toujours trompés, vous nous trompez encore ; mais prenez garde à vous, Monsieur, la mesure est à son comble, et le peuple est las de se voir votre jouet \*."

\* The heart of aristocrates.

† Sir, listen to us—yes, Sir, it is your duty to attend to us, you have always deceived us, you deceive us still ; but take care what you are about, Sir, the measure of our patience is full, and the people are tired of being your dupes.

In a company lately, where the conversation turned on the conduct of Legendre, every body present blamed it, except one young Frenchman, who, although of high birth, distinguishes himself by violent democratic principles: he urged, by way of defending Legendre, that he did not speak in his own name, but in that of the nation; that he represented *the majesty of the people sovereign*. The company smiled; some of them were deputies, who, however expedient it might be to use this language in the tribune, did not expect to hear it in private society.—I ventured to repeat a story I had heard, of an English gentleman celebrated for wit, that, walking in the streets of London with a democratic acquaintance of his, who frequently used the expression of *the majesty of the people*, they met a couple of chimney-sweeps; the gentleman took off his hat, and made them a very formal and low bow as they passed. His acquaintance asked what he meant—I was only shewing the respect, replied the other, which is due from every loyal subject to two princes of the blood.

This gentleman, it is probable, judged of their affinity merely from their external resemblance to the Sovereign; but Legendre could boast of an affinity in more essential points, an unyielding firmness of heart, a decisive promptitude of execution, a disposition which, so far from being depressed, finds matter of mirth and pleasantry in scenes of horror, when they are thought necessary to promote the great use: these are features of energy which have distinguished the *Peuple Souverain* since the beginning of the Revolution, and in which Legendre bears a striking likeness to the monarch he was said to represent.

A de-

A deputation consisting of twelve members of the national Assembly, among whom were Isnard and Vergniaud, at length arrived—I snard addressing himself to the people who filled the room, endeavoured to prevail on them to withdraw, repeating frequently, that he would be answerable on his life that they should be satisfied.—This had little effect, the noise and exclamation of “*Rappelez les ministres! ôtez le veto!*”<sup>\*</sup> recommenced.

Vergniaud also spoke to the same purpose, and with as little success.

The noise and confusion continued till past five in the evening, when Petion arrived, accompanied by Sergent, a municipal officer. Petion approaching the King, said, “Sire, I was only this moment informed of the situation in which you are.”

That is extraordinary, replied the King, for I have been in this situation above three hours.

Petion then standing on a chair advised the people to retire, ending his harangue with the following very curious expressions, which one, who was present wrote a little after and allowed me to copy: “*Citoyens, vous venez de faire entendre vos vœux au représentant héréditaire, avec l'énergie et la dignité d'un peuple libre qui connoit ses droits. Le Roi fait maintenant les intentions du Souverain, et sans doute il y aura égard. Il convient que vous vous retiriez*

G 3

avec

<sup>\*</sup> Recall the ministers, remove the veto.



avec calme et décence, afin qu'on ne puisse pas calomnier vos intentions\*”.

After this, the people at the Mayor's repeated request began to withdraw :—when a second deputation from the National Assembly arrived, one of the members of which addressed the King in a respectful manner, assuring him that each member was ready to present his body as a shield to cover his Majesty's.

It could not escape the King, however, that he might have been cut in pieces three hours before the shields arrived.

While these things were passing in the *Œil de Beuf*, the Queen entered the council-chamber, attended by the Prince and Princess Royal, by Madame de Lamballe, Mme. Tourzelle, Mme. de Mau, Mme. de Soucy. Her Majesty shewed much uneasiness on account of the situation in which she had left the King, till the Adjutant General of the first legion of Parisian guards, with some soldiers, came and assured her that the King was in safety, and surrounded by faithful servants.

M. de Wittengoff, a general officer, entered the room followed by a number of people of both sexes, among whom was a woman with a red

\* Citizens, you have now made your desires known to the hereditary representative, with that energy and dignity which becomes a free people who understand their rights. The King at present knows the intentions of the *sovereign*, and undoubtedly will pay a proper regard to them. You ought now to withdraw with calmness and decency, that your intentions may not be calumniated.

red cap in her hand. She presented the cap to Wittengoff, desiring him to give it to the Queen to wear, adding, that she had just left the King, who at that moment had the cap of Liberty on his head.

It would appear that the General did not think it expedient to reject the woman's proposal; which the Queen perceiving, and being shocked at the idea of wearing the cap, said to Wittengoff, "Vous voyez, Monsieur, que ce bonnet ne peut aller sur ma tête:"† she then put it on the head of the Prince. This satisfied the woman and her followers.

Santerre entered the council-chamber soon after, followed by a new crowd, who having already seen the King, now demanded a sight of the Queen, which Santerre had undertaken to procure them—He immediately required that those who stood immediately before her Majesty should open to the right and left, that the people who followed him might have a full view of her and the rest of the royal family; which was done, Santerre *graciously* assuring the Queen, that she had nothing to apprehend from the people, who were *wonderfully good*, and only wished to be gratified with a sight of her as they walked out; and perceiving that the Prince was heated with the cap, he added, "Otez le bonnet à cet enfant\*."

Santerre's assurances, however, did not prevent some of the people, who were not quite so good as the rest, from insulting the Queen, as they passed, with very abominable language.

The

† You see, Sir, this cap will not go on my head.

\* Take the cap from the child's head.

The crowd having mostly retired, and the King having left the *Ceil de Beuf*, to go to what are called the *petits apartments*, the Princess Elizabeth was going to wait on the Queen in the council-chamber, when a group of the mob which still lingered in the palace, mistaking her for the Queen, began to insult her; on which one of the Princess's attendants was going to undeceive them, but she with nobleness of mind prevented this, lest the people who were insulting her, being informed of their mistake, should have transferred their abuse to the unhappy Queen.

It appeared from the witnesses examined on this business, that great pains had been taken with the inhabitants of St. Antoine, for a considerable time previous to the 20th of June, to work them up to this criminal measure: for it merits that epithet in a high degree, even although what is by no means clear were entirely admitted, namely that no more was intended than to prevail on the King to recall the former ministers, and to remove the negative he had given to the two decrees: because, to prevail on the King by such means was open rebellion against the government, and ruinous to the Constitution, and might have been attended with the immediate massacre of the royal family, and other dreadful consequences, all of which the promoters of this procession were answerable for.

The active and apparent promoters of it (for others are strongly suspected who were not sworn against by the witnesses) were Santerre, at that time commander of the battalion of Enfans



fanstrouvés, Legendre, Fournier an American, Rotondo an Italian, Buirette | a glafs-maker, Rosignol a goldsmith, |Gonor who was called the conqueror of the Bastille, Brierre a wine-merchant, and St. Huruge, who rendered himself more notorious afterwards in the month of September, and Nicolas, sapeur or miner to the battalion which Santerre commanded. These men had frequent nightly meetings at the house of Santerre, where they drew up the motions that were to be made in the groups at the Tuileries, the palais-royal, the Place de Greve, and to the multitude which assembled in the Place de la Bastille. They sometimes met also in the chamber of the committee of the section of *Enfans trouvés*, to compose placarts to be posted on the walls; and at those meetings Chabot had frequently made harangues, the tendency of which was to encourage the audience to promote the intended procession, which he assured them the National Assembly expected, and would receive with satisfaction.

From the evidence it also appeared, “ that after coming from the National Assembly, the people shewed no disposition to force their way into the palace, till Santerre, accompanied by Saint Huruge, came among them, and asked why they did not enter the palace, as it was for that purpose alone that they had assembled; and that it was in consequence of directions from Paris, and another municipal officer, that the gates of the Tuileries had been broken open.

In consequence of the proof of these facts, the Council of the department of Paris decreed, that the Mayor of Paris, and the Procureur

reur of the Commune, who had been frequently advertised by the Council of the intended procession, had not done what their duty required to prevent, but had rather countenanced it, and therefore should be suspended from the exercise of their offices; but this decree requiring the sanction of the King, his Majesty wished to give no opinion nor decision on the subject, as he was personally concerned in it. He therefore referred the whole matter to the National Assembly; but his enemies there being resolved to drive him to the disagreeable alternative of either disapproving of the decree of the Council, or incurring the odium of being the immediate cause of suspending the popular Mayor, had sufficient influence to get the Assembly to refuse giving any opinion on the subject, until the King should confirm or annul the sentence of the Council. His Majesty therefore confirmed the decree; which he had no sooner done, than the National Assembly took the whole matter into their consideration, and reinstated the Mayor and Procureur in their offices.

From this time it was clear that the constitution was at an end, that a plan was formed for the destruction of royalty, and that the best measure the King could adopt was to attempt at any risk to remove himself and his family out of the reach of the mob of Paris. To this he was often pressed by his friends, who thought, that if he were even removed as far as Fontainebleau, there was such indignation in the minds of the most respectable citizens all over France at the scandalous transactions on the 20th of June, that they would have united against the anarchists of Paris, and given such force to the

the executive power, as, without injuring freedom, would have suppressed them, and prevented the dreadful disorders which have since taken place. But his Majesty, probably deterred by the ill success of his flight to Varennes, could not be prevailed on to make a second attempt of the same nature.

Disgusted with a series of crimes which he could neither prevent nor punish, and finding that his presence in Paris was neither of use to his country nor to the King, the Duke of Rochefoucauld withdrew from the capital to his villa in Normandy, from whence, on account of his health, he soon after went to the medicinal waters of Forges, where he was during the dreadful period of the massacre in September, and where a commissioner from the general council of the Commune of Paris arrived with an order to arrest and conduct him to the capital. This commissioner was a man of more humanity than those usually employed by the council on similar occasions; he readily agreed to the proposal of accompanying the Duke in the first place to his own house at Roche-Guyon, with a view that the agitation which existed at Paris might have time to subside before he should arrive, and in the hopes that the Duke's friends might be able to have the order recalled.—In company with Mr. de la Rochefoucauld, was the Duchesse D'Anville his mother, and the Duchess his wife. On the road between Forges and Roche-Guyon, they stopped at Gisors: during this period most unfortunately a battalion of National Guards arrived, among whom some of the Paris assassins, as is suspected, were mixed.

These



These villains immediately shewed a disposition to murder the Duke, who, being more solicitous for the safety of his mother and his wife than for his own, and fearing that they might be injured or insulted if he remained with them, persuaded them to go on. The Duke himself afterwards walked to his carriage under the protection of the Mayor of Gisors, the Commissioner, and some of the national guards; but he was, notwithstanding, followed by the assassins loading him all the way with abusive language, till one of them having found means of coming very near the Duke, threw a stone with such force that, striking him on the temple, it killed him on the spot, and some of the wretches immediately, on seeing him fall, cried, "Vive la Nation!"

The French nation is disgraced by such an exclamation on such an occasion; and, were I not convinced that the majority detest the actions and sicken at the exclamations of such wretches, I should join in sentiment with those who wish it washed from the surface of the globe.

October 24.

In a conversation which I had this day with a member of the Convention, I delivered my sentiments pretty freely upon the subject of the murder of Mr. de la Rochefoucauld, and some similar events which have taken place of late in France; he expressed the utmost horror at them, but added that scenes of the same kind had been acted in every country of Europe in times of revolution and dissension, when great interests were at stake, and when the human passions were inflamed and agitated in the highest degree. He mentioned certain barbarous cruelties which had  
been

been committed, on both sides, during the contest between the white rose and the red in England: he enlarged on the massacre in Ireland in the reign of Charles the First, and on the perfidious affair of Glenco in Scotland in the reign of King William. He added that, every thing considered, perhaps it belonged less to one of my nation than of any other, to complain of the excesses of revolutions or civil dissensions; and with a smile he quoted from Juvenal:

*Quis tulcrit Cracchos de seditione querentes?*

I did not choose to push the argument farther, although, with respect to the reciprocal cruelties which were committed during the contest between the white rose and the red, the remark was obvious, that what a nation had done during an age of barbarism and superstition, is not to be compared with that of another in the days of knowledge and refinement—and perhaps it would not be difficult to shew that the barbarities he enumerated which had been committed in Great Britain and Ireland, were equalled by those committed in France at the same periods; in which case, there has been such accumulation here of late, that, on comparing accounts, a most dreadful balance of horrors would remain with this country.

I find some people believe, or pretend to believe, that the murder of the Duke of Rochefoucauld was the accidental effect of the sudden frenzy of a few volunteers; but many circumstances do not admit of that opinion. The magistrates of Gisors, although they wished to protect the Duke, did not seize and punish his assassins

assassins which looks as if they suspected that the assassins acted under the direction of some men whose enmity the magistrates were afraid of incurring : and when we recollect that the Duke's conduct, immediately before and after the 20th of June, was highly offensive to those who spirited up the shameful insurrection of that day ; when we recollect the characters of some of them who were afterwards members of the new formed council of the Commune de Paris, and the orders for arrest which they issued previous to the 2d of September ; it will seem much more probable that the death of the Duke of Rochefoucauld proceeded from instructions from some of *them*, than from a sudden impulse of the actual murderers.

If any thing could render this crime more atrocious, it would be, that a man who lies under the highest obligations to the Duke, was the planner of his assassination. This idea has been propagated notwithstanding its enormity, and perhaps is circulated the more on that very account ; for the minds of some people are peculiarly attached to the wonderful, and they are so fond of repeating what creates the greatest emotion, of whatever nature that emotion is, that the very circumstance which renders a story less credible, is an inducement for one set of people to repeat it, and another to believe it. Much stronger presumptive proof than any I have heard, is necessary to induce me to think any man capable of such aggravated wickedness, particularly if the pursuits of his life have been of a nature to humanize the heart as well as to enlighten the understanding, and if the fact can be fully accounted for, without supposing him to have had any direct or indirect hand in it.

The



October 26.

The party which is formed against Roland and the Girondists \* manifest already as much enmity to them as the same party did to the court for turning Roland out of office. What renders them very formidable is the influence their leaders have in the Jacobin society, which begins to murmur against Roland and all his friends. To Brissot they shew such peculiar dislike, that he was lately expelled from the society: he probably obtained this distinction on account of some paragraphs which have lately appeared in the daily paper supposed to be conducted by him. Marat is there treated with a contempt which may be due to his talents, but which it is not prudent to shew for a man who is still a favourite of the rabble, and has some of the most desperate of them under his direction. In the same paper Danton is glanced at with severity, and Robespierre is turned into ridicule, in a manner that would not be readily forgiven by a man of a less implacable disposition.

Brissot

\* Vergniaud, Gensonne, Guadet, and some others distinguished for their talents, are deputies from the department of Gironde, and support Roland; many others have joined them, and the whole are called Girondists or Rolandists; and Marat, who has a determined hatred to Brissot, sometimes calls them in his journal Brissotins, and the whole class Roland Brissotins. Although Condorcet is of more eminence in the literary world than any I have enumerated as the friends of Roland, I have not mentioned him, because his conduct of late is thought equivocal; it is not quite clear whether he means to attach himself to Roland or Danton.

Barrere, deputy from the department of the High Pyrenees, who was a member of the constituent assembly without being much distinguished, begins to be thought of more importance in the Convention: he has not hitherto taken a decided part with either party, but, I am told, he is courted by both.

Brissot is a little man, of an intelligent countenance, but of a weakly frame of body.

While many of the Deputies, even those who are no way obnoxious to the violent party, carry pocket-pistols, or canes which contain swords; Brissot walks through the streets, at all hours, without so much as a switch in his hand.

An acquaintance of his told me that he had spoken of this to him as a piece of great imprudence, considering the number of his enemies, many of whom he thought capable of assassination. To this remonstrance Brissot answered with a careless air, " S'ils sont décidés à m'assassiner, ils en trouveroient aisément le moyen de quelque maniere que je fusse armé: d'ailleurs je suis d'une constitution si foible, que ne pouvant faire qu'une triste défense, je préférerois l'honneur de n'en point faire du tout.

But timidity is not to be placed among this man's failings, nor prudence among his virtues.

If Brissot is too little affected by the rancour of his enemies, Roland shews too much sensibility to the attacks which are made on him, and this is one reason perhaps for their being continued with such spirit and perseverance. Insinuations tending to render him unpopular, not only appear in certain daily journals, but accusations against him are sometimes pasted on the walls.

\* If they are determined to assassinate me, they will find the means whatever arms I may carry; besides, I am of so feeble a constitution, that, conscious of being unable to make a good resistance, I think it more honourable to make none.

walls. He alludes to these rather too often in his addresses to the Convention, which are sometimes thought laboured and pompous. While one of this kind was reading in the assembly, I heard one of the deputies say peevishly, "Cet homme prétend nous gouverner par des phrases\*." Another, shrugging up his shoulders, said, "Il ne cherche qu'à faire admirer la beauté de son stile†." To which the member who sat next him replied, "Aussi y réussit il quelquefois avec l'aide de sa femme\*."

The tendency of these addresses and letters generally is, after exculpating himself from the charges above mentioned, to prove the necessity of order and submission to law.

But if a Minister takes the trouble of answering, in the National Assembly, all anonymous accusations made against him, neither he nor the Assembly will be able to do any other business; and if he has no other means of producing order and submission to law than by speeches and addresses, there is no probability of their being produced soon.

Some of these compositions however are very good in themselves.

—Can

*Sed nunc non erat his locus.*

\* This man thinks to govern us by fine sentences.

† His only object is to make us admire the beauty of his style.

\* In which he sometimes succeeds, with the assistance of his wife.



—Can it be thought that the men who stormed the King's palace, or those who instigated to the massacres, will be moved from their designs by eloquence or argument?

At the head of the party in opposition to Roland are Danton and Robespierre; after them are Couthon, Bazire, Thuriot, Merlin de Thionville, St. André, Camille Desmoulins, Chabot, Collot d'Herbois, Sergent, Legendre, Fabre d'Eglantine, Paris, Marat.

Robespierre is a man of small size, and a disagreeable countenance, which announces more fire than understanding; in his calmest moments, he conceals with difficulty the hatred and malignity which is said to exist in his heart, and which his features are admirably formed to express. He distinguished himself in the Constituent Assembly by the violence of his speeches, and much more since, in the Jacobin society, by the violence of his measures. His eloquence is employed in invectives against tyrants and aristocrats, and in declamations in praise of Liberty. His speeches are barren in argument, but sometimes fertile in the flowers of fancy.

Robespierre is considered as an enthusiast rather than a hypocrite: some people think him both, which is not without example; but, to me, he seems to be too much of the first to be a great deal of the second.

He has always refused every office of emolument: his passion is popularity, not avarice; and he is allowed, even by those who detest many

many parts of his character, and are his enemies, to be incorruptible by money.

Roland is not supposed to possess all the energy of character that belongs to Danton; in many other respects they differ. Roland is believed to be a thorough republican: Danton, it is thought, does not lay much stress on the form of government, and would have no objection to monarchy, provided the monarch were a creature of his own; for I do not find that it is suspected that he aspires to reign in person.

Roland and Danton were often in opposition with each other when joined in the same administration. Roland struggled with all his might against the usurpations of the General Council of the Commune of Paris after the 10th of August: Danton favoured and abetted them. Roland exclaimed against the massacres in September, did every thing he could to put an end to them, and on that account was himself in imminent danger. Danton, though he was then minister of justice, is accused of having been criminally passive on that very pressing occasion. Roland uses his whole influence to bring the authors of those savage scenes to justice: Danton uses his to stifle all investigation of that nature.

In external appearance and manner, those two men differ as in all the rest: Roland is about sixty years of age, tall, thin, of a mild countenance and pale complexion. His dress, every time I have seen him, has been the same, a drab-coloured suit lined with green silk, his grey hair hanging loose.

Danton

Danton is not so tall, but much broader than Roland; his form is coarse, and uncommonly robust: Roland's manner is unassuming and modest—that of Danton fierce and boisterous; he speaks with the voice of a Stentor, declaims on the blessings of freedom with the arrogance of a tyrant, and invites to union and friendship with the frown of an enemy.

He must be sensible of the infinite importance of internal union, of strengthening the executive power, and overawing the factious at the present crisis. These might possibly avert some of the evils that threaten his country, and tend to the happiness of twenty-four millions of human creatures. But what must then become of Danton: he would dwindle in point of importance, and share only the proportion of an individual in the general prosperity.

In the comprehensive vortex of this extraordinary Revolution, this man, originally placed in the lower ranks of life, has been whirled so near the summit as to have the chief direction of government within his hope—He thinks himself, no doubt, better qualified for that office than those who, according to the present system, are likely to retain it; and if his hopes should be accomplished, he perhaps has it in speculation to promote the aggrandisement of his country, and would exert himself for that purpose as long as it went hand in hand with his own. But if the gratification of his own ambition is to be had at no other price than the sacrifice of his country's good, he will not refuse the purchase. This, no doubt, will be thought very profligate; yet in this, perhaps, Danton differs less from  
other



other statesmen than in some other features of his character.

A person who is thought to be well acquainted with the characters of the leading deputies of both parties, and capable of forming a just judgment of their views, lately hinted to me that there was a probability that Danton and his friends would overset their opponents.

“I thought that Roland had the majority of the members of the Convention with him?” said I.

“The majority of the members, if left to follow the dictates of their consciences,” resumed he, “are certainly inclined to support Roland; but Danton may fall on means which have been found efficacious in removing scruples of conscience.”

“I had no idea of his being so very rich. Where will he find the money?” said I.

“Money, it must be confessed, is the readiest and most effectual,” replied he, smiling, “but not the only means—Danton makes use of it the least, he has it not always at his command; for what he does use on pressing occasions belongs to another.”

“What other means has he?”

"Why, eloquence," rejoined he. "Do you count that for nothing in your National Assembly? I can assure you it has considerable weight in ours? and Danton may pour it forth with profusion, having at command not only his own noisy torrents, but also the popular stream which flows from the lips of Robespierre."

"Will not the effect of their eloquence," I resumed, "be greatly overbalanced by that of Vergniaud, Buzot, and other friends of Roland?"

"Perhaps it may," said he; "but the ally on whom Danton has the greatest reliance has not been yet mentioned."

"Who is he?"

"Terror! Terror!" repeated he, "who has acted so important a part since the beginning of this Revolution. Do you not think that his gigantic form stalks sometimes before the eyes of the Deputies? Do you imagine that their sleep is never disturbed with the visions of heads carried on pikes, of murdered prisoners, and the mangled bodies of those victims of cowardly revenge, Brissac, Montmorin, Delessart, and Rochefoucauld?"

"I should imagine," said I, "that such visions would rather disturb the consciences of Danton and some of his friends."

They

"They have none," rejoined he; "and Danton seems to have nearly as little fear as conscience."

He then told me, that he was convinced that Danton's plan was to terrify a majority of the Deputies into his measures, by means of the rabble of the suburbs, which he expects to have at his disposal, through Chabot, Marat, and other emissaries and tried conductors; in which view the factions of Paris were prevailed on to present the address already mentioned, to the Assembly, which it is believed was drawn up by Danton himself.

His emissaries, I have been since told, are very active in circulating every report that they conceive can render Roland and his friends, particularly the Girondists, odious in the eyes of the people. As many of this party are republicans, and were abused by their enemies on that account when such sentiments were not so popular as they are at present, it was not to be imagined that they would now be accused of being royalists; but as this is the heaviest charge that can be brought against any set of men, the same persons who formerly accused them of being republicans, without any regard to consistency, and trusting to the absurd credulity of the multitude, now accuse them of being royalists—and not entirely without effect.

The friends of Roland brought to Paris the battalion of Marseillois, which arrived lately, and unquestionably with no other view than to serve



serve as a check to the sans-culottes of the suburbs, who are at the command of Danton: their address, which was read in the Convention, is thought to be the composition of Barbaroux.

Monsieur Egalité is at present seldom heard of: he appears however almost every day in the Assembly; he generally stays about half an hour, seems to interest himself little in what is going on, and to interest the Assembly as little. It has been said that a weak or wrong-headed man of very high rank, or in an eminent situation in life, is like a man on the top of a steeple, from whence all the world seems *little* to him, and where he seems *little* in the eyes of all the world—Whether M. Egalité, when in his original elevated situation, regarded mankind, or was regarded by them in this light, I will not say; but he certainly has been at great pains and expence to bring himself low enough to be seen and estimated at his just value by all the world.

October, 27.

According to a late decree all emigrants who are taken in arms are to be tried by a court-martial, and executed where they are taken. Notwithstanding this decree, thirteen were lately conducted to Paris. They were the same whom Ruhl had passed on the road as was mentioned above. When they came near Paris, new fears were expressed in the Convention, of their danger of being massacred in the streets.

If there is really any danger of such an event, the inhabitants of Paris must be the worst of savages; but the only people I see of a savage disposition, are certain members of the Convention, and of the Jacobin Club, and a great majority of those who fill the tribunes of both those assemblies; but the shop-keepers and trades-people (and I take some pains to be acquainted with their way of thinking) seem to be much the same as I have always known them; and I am persuaded that there is no risk of massacres or assassinations, but from a set of wretches who are neither shop-keepers nor trades-men, but idle vagabonds, hired and excited for the purpose.—When I hear it asserted from the tribune of the Convention, or of the Jacobin Society, that the people are impatient for the death of the king, or inclined to murder unfortunate men while they are conducted to prison, and yet can perceive no disposition of that nature among the citizens, I cannot help suspecting that those orators themselves are the people who are impatient for those atrocities, and that they spread the notion that this desire is general among the people, on purpose to render it easier to commit them, and to make them more quietly submitted to, after they have been committed.

I remember, that, for several days before the 2d of September, frequent mention was made of the unaccountable delays of the courts of justice with regard to the trial of the prisoners—Certain members of the National Assembly threw out hints of the people's impatience on that account; and I heard a man at the Jacobins threaten

threaten, that if the sword of justice was withheld much longer, the people would exercise it themselves: and yet, at that time, I could perceive no signs of such a disposition among the citizens of Paris.

The dreadful scenes in September began—the citizens were struck with terror—they repeated to each other, “We often heard that the people would be driven to this!” Each of them believed that all the city had risen against the prisoners; except the quarter which he himself inhabited; and from which his anxiety for his family made him afraid to move—They were told that all who spoke in favour of the prisoners were massacred by the people, and that many suspected persons were taken up in the streets. By these means the citizens of Paris remained panic-struck, while a handful of villains, in their name, committed the most shocking enormities.

Reflecting on this, naturally creates a suspicion that something of the same nature is intended by the same means with respect to the King.—It is expected, perhaps, that by dint of repeatedly asserting that the people in general are desirous of his death, they will be driven to some violent measure if his trial is delayed, also that they look upon all who are of contrary sentiments as aristocrats and enemies of the Revolution; and that the citizens will be brought at last to desire, or pretend to desire, what otherwise they would never have thought of.

Whatever



Whatever there may be in this conjecture, the unhappy emigrants above mentioned were conducted to the prison without any attempt on the part of the people to murder them. They were tried by a court-martial the day before yesterday; if there really existed in the minds of the people any eagerness for the execution of these unfortunate men, their patience was not put to a long proof: nine of the thirteen prisoners were beheaded this morning, four were officers in the army, one a lieutenant in the navy, one a councillor, in the late parliament of Guyenne, the other three belonged formerly to the Garde du corps.

The four who were acquitted were servants, and had not been taken in arms.

What renders it more probable that there are people who wish to renew the scenes of September is, that a rumour was industriously spread that the Prince of Lambesc was in the disguise of a footman among the prisoners; which occasioned a rabble from the suburbs of St. Antoine, to assemble around the Conciergerie, who exclaimed for the head of Lambesc\*; but on the assurances of Commissioners from the municipality

\* The Prince of Lambesc is peculiarly obnoxious to the mob of Paris, because, in the year 1789, when the insurrection of the Parisians began, and the busts of Necker and of the Duke of Orleans were carried in triumph, this prince was at the head of some dragoons in the square of Lewis XV. Some stones being thrown at them from the gardens of the Thuilleries, he charged with his dragoons on the multitude, some of whom were wounded.

municipality that there were no such persons in the prison, the mob dispersed.

It is more difficult at present to execute any great atrocity than it was in the beginning of September, because a great number of profligate and idle fellows, who were at that time in Paris, have been sent to recruit the armies, and in the mean time Marat and his gang are kept in check by the arrival of the Marseillois.

October 28.

While I was at the Assembly two days ago, a decree was passed, which is severe and unjust in the highest degree, and the reasoning in support of it was as sophistical as the decree itself is cruel. The question regarded the French emigrants; it was first stated, that there is an essential difference between those who have gone into countries at war with France, to assist with their arms or counsel the enemies of their country, and those who have passed into neutral states, simply with a view to their own safety—"The former, it was said, "are traitors, and ought to be punished with death; the latter are cowards, who have abandoned their country in the hour of danger, for which they deserve only to be banished." Accordingly, by the decree they are banished, with this additional penalty, that if they ever return they shall be punished with death—not for having emigrated (on that account they are only banished), but for having broken the law which condemned them to perpetual banishment."

This

This is surely a distinction without a difference; for by this cruel and unjust decree, the person who leaves his native country merely from fear, and takes no part against it, is in effect subjected to the same penalty with those who have joined the invading armies, and may be taken in arms—The former is liable to be put to death if he returns to his native country, and the latter cannot suffer any punishment till he does the same.

It is as if two servants in a family were tried as accomplices with incendiaries who had set their master's house on fire: the one is clearly proved to have aided and abetted the incendiaries; nothing appears against the other, but that he leaped out of the window to save himself from the flames. According to the spirit of this decree, the judge might pronounce sentence in the supposed case to the following effect: "There is a wide difference between the crimes of these two men, and so there shall be in their punishments. The one must be hanged as an accomplice of the incendiaries; and as for the other who jumped out of the window, he ought to have been ashamed ever to have shewn his face; and if he had staid out of the way and never appeared, I acknowledge it would be unjust to hang him: but since he is taken, that alters the case; he merits now to be hanged, and I sentence him to that punishment accordingly; but observe, it is not for jumping out of the window, but for the aggravating circumstance of being taken."

By this absurd and iniquitous decree, many women are punished for that timidity which is  
natural



natural to the sex; and many men are ruined in their fortunes, and reduced to absolute want, whose only view in emigrating was to save their lives, not from the sword of justice, but from the poniards of assassins.

That two parties in a state who are contending for the conduct of government should dislike each other, is common; but that rancorous degree to which it is arrived in France is beyond any thing of the same kind that I ever knew in England, and, I should hope, for the credit of mankind, beyond any thing ever known before in any other country. I made this observation to a gentleman who pretends to know the French thoroughly.—“The French,” said he, “have been accused of being very inconstant *lovers*: I know nothing of that; but I do assure you,” continued he, playing on an expression recorded of Dr. Johnson, “that they are very sincere and constant *haters*.”

In confirmation of this observation, I perceive every day the strongest marks of violent hatred between the leaders of the two opposite parties. They seem to agree in nothing but in a mutual hatred against the unfortunate emigrants, which however does not in the least degree diminish their reciprocal hatred; and I am told, that the same hatred prevails among the emigrants themselves in all the different countries of Europe; that those who emigrated at one period of the revolution hate those who emigrated at another, as cordially as all of them have very good reason to hate the men who form this convention, and are passing such severe decrees against them.

Marat

October 26.

Marat has carried his calumnies such a length, that even the party which he wishes to support seem to be ashamed of him; and he is shunned and apparently detested by every body else. When he enters the hall of the Assembly, he is avoided on all sides; and when he seats himself, those near him generally rise and change their places. He stood a considerable time yesterday near the tribune, watching an opportunity to speak. I saw him at one time address himself to Louvet, and, in doing so, he attempted to lay his hands on Louvet's shoulder, who instantly started back with looks of aversion, as one would do from the touch of a noxious reptile, exclaiming! "*Ne me touchez pas!*" Don't touch me.

Nothing can disconcert Marat; he persevered in soliciting the privilege of being heard *pour un fait* \*. The Assembly shewed the greatest unwillingness to hear him: he exclaimed that it was *un fait qui interessoit le salut public* †.

They were at last under the necessity of hearing him; he elevated his head as usual when he speaks from the tribune, surveyed the audience with composure and audacity, and in a hollow voice and with solemnity of cadence said, "It is not the citizen who now addresses you, that provokes to murder, or puts public freedom in danger, but those in office, men who make use of their authority to oppress the people; *they* are the

\* For a fact.

† A fact regarding the public safety.

the tyrants, who, under the pretence of maintaining the tranquillity of Paris, arrest and murder the most innocent and meritorious citizens." He then accused Roland of having given orders for arresting an excellent patriot whom he named.

This turned out to be entirely a misrepresentation: but before Marat descended from the tribune, Barbaroux informed the Assembly that Marat had paid a visit at the barracks of the battalion of Marseillois lately arrived; that, at sight of their accommodations, he had lamented that so many brave sans-culottes were so ill lodged, while a regiment of dragoons, composed of ancient valet-de-chambres and coachmen of the nobility, with a mixture of the King's gars-deducorps, all anti revolutionists, were superbly quartered in the Ecole Militaire: that he had insinuated many things tending to raise a jealousy between the Marseillois and this regiment of dragoons, and had hinted that it was owing to the Convention that the former were so ungratefully treated: and that he had invited some of them to breakfast with him.

It was evident that Marat's design in this was to have seduced the Marseillois from those who had engaged them to come to Paris, to attach them to his own party, and to engage them, instead of opposing the turbulent behaviour of the mob of St. Antoine, to act with them as their townsmen did on the 10th of August.

The Marseillois however refused his invitation. But Barbaroux's narrative occasioned a violent outcry in the assembly against Ma-

rat:



rat: the epithets *scélerat*, *assassin*, were often repeated, and one member said that Marat had lately been heard to declare that there would be no tranquillity in the state till two hundred and sixty-eight heads were cut off.

“ I am the person,” cried another member, “ who heard him say so.”

I threw my eyes on Marat, to observe how he would look on hearing such an accusation.

“ Very well,” said Marat; “ I did say so, “ and it is my opinion.”

I should have thought I had mistaken or heard indistinctly, if he had not resumed—“ I repeat it,” said Marat: “ That is my opinion, you will not pretend that men are to be punished for their opinions; and as for the silly story of Barbaroux,” continued he, “ it is a malignant misconstruction of my patriotic civilities and hospitality to the Marseillois. What then does the whole of this mighty business amount to? why, that I said, you would not enjoy peace or tranquillity till the oppressors of the people lost their heads, of whom there are two hundred and sixty-eight at the most moderate calculation. I am also accused of having shewn more attention to the battalion just arrived from Marseilles, than any other member of the Convention—If these are crimes,” added he, sweeping the edge of his right hand across his throat, “ égorgez moi !”

This new denunciation against Marat was transmitted to the same committee who have the

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former under their consideration; and Marat's accusation of Roland was considered as invidious, and an attempt to obstruct the course of justice.

I have never heard of any other of his good qualities—but this man certainly possesses a great deal of courage both personal and political: no danger can terrify him, no detection can disconcert him; his heart, as well as his forehead, seems to be of brass.

October 29.

I was present when Ruhl of Strasbourg, whom I formerly mentioned, informed the Convention, that being in the commission for examining certain letters in the German language, which had been intercepted, he had found one from a corporal in the Prussian army to his wife in Silesia. In this letter he said there were many expressions of conjugal love and parental affection, while in the same letter the French were painted in the blackest colours. "This poor corporal," continued Ruhl, "has had the perseverance and generosity to save two ducats out of his pay, which he inclosed in the letter to his wife, who, it appears, was then in child-bed. I desire to be authorized to transmit the money, with what addition I please, to this honest corporal's wife, with a letter assuring her that the French do not deserve all the ill names which her husband gives them."

Ruhl is a man about seventy years of age; there is a great appearance of naïveté in his manner. I happened to mention this story of the corporal to a Frenchman of my acquaintance:—"Le conte

conte est beau," said he, "et ne manque que la vraisemblance pour le rendre intéressant\*."

"He had the letter in his hand," said I; how "can you doubt it?"

"If he had twenty letters," replied the Frenchman, "I must doubt it, because a Prussian corporal is generous in nothing but in *coups de batons*; and it is not in the nature of a man who is distributing these from morning to night, to have tender affections of any kind.—Such opposite and discordant passions cannot inhabit the same breast."

The incredulity of my French acquaintance I think unreasonable; and I will here insert an anecdote, although it is much more exposed to his criticism, because it comes from a quarter which leaves no doubt on my mind of its truth.

Monsieur de Bertrand, chevalier de Malte, and brother to Monsieur de Bertrand de Moleville late Minister of the Marine, was arrested and confined in the prison of the Abbaye, soon after the 10th of August. This gentleman was brought at midnight on the third of September before the dreadful tribunal in that prison. He is a man of great coolness and firmness of mind, which was of infinite service to him in this emergency; for although the symptoms of fear ought not on such occasions to have been considered as a presumption of guilt, yet that construction was put on them by the judges, and, without any other presumption, they sometimes proved fatal to the prisoner.

\* The tale is agreeable, and only wants probability to make it interesting.

I 2 When



When Mr. Bertrand was questioned, he answered with an undisturbed voice and countenance, "that he had not the least idea of what he had been arrested for, that those who arrested him could not inform him, that nobody had informed him since, and that he was convinced he had been taken up by mistake."

Struck with the cool and undaunted manner in which he addressed them, and having no particular accusation nor proof of any kind against him, the judges ordered him to be released.

Two men covered with blood, who had been employed in killing the prisoners, and attended in the expectation of the signal for dispatching Mr. Bertrand, seemed surprised but not displeased at the unusual order. They conducted him through the court of the Abbaye, and on the way asked if he had any relation to whose house he wished to go.

He answered that he had a sister-in-law to whom he intended to go directly.

"How very much surprised and delighted must she be to see you!" said they.

"I am persuaded she will," replied Mr. Bertrand.

One of the men then asked the other if he should not be glad to be present at this meeting; to which he eagerly said he should: and both declared they had a curiosity to be witnesses to the joyful meeting between Mr. Bertrand and his sister-in-law.

The

The gentleman was astonished and embarrassed: he represented, that his relation being a delicate woman, their appearance might very much alarm her, particularly at such an unreasonable hour; that he could not think of giving them such unnecessary trouble: and added whatever he thought would divert them from so unexpected a proposal.

They urged that they would wait in the parlour till he had advertised the lady of their being in the house, to prevent her being alarmed: that so far from being a trouble, it would give them great pleasure to accompany him: that they wished to have a relaxation from the work in which they had been so long employed, and they hoped he would not deny them the satisfaction of seeing the meeting between him and his friends.

Mr. Bertrand did not think it prudent to refuse such petitioners any longer; he therefore assented—they accompanied him to the house. He sent the servant, who opened the door at the sound of his voice, to advertise the lady that he was arrived, and well. He afterwards went himself and informed her of the strange fancy of the two men, who waited in another room. The lady had arisen and dressed herself hastily on the first hearing of his arrival: every body in the family had done the same, and had flocked around him with expressions of joy. The two men were admitted, and were witnesses to the happiness that all manifested: they seemed much gratified and affected at the sight; it formed the strongest contrast with those they had so lately seen. Mr. Bertrand offered them money, which they would on no account accept, declaring that they were already paid for

accompanying him in the only way they desired. After remaining a considerable time, they took their leave, wishing the lady all happiness, and thanking Mr. Bertrand for allowing them the pleasure of being witnesses to so pleasing a meeting.

Nobody can be more aware than I am of the inconsistency which from this narrative appears in the dispositions of the same individuals. That two men so unfeeling as to be actively engaged in the remorseless scenes at the prison should have the sensibility to wish to be witnesses of the meeting between Mr. Bertrand and his friends, and behave on the whole as those two men did, is what no person, who has studied the usual analogies and combinations of the human dispositions, would have expected. The first turn of mind seems incompatible with the second: I know no theory by which they can be reconciled; I attempt no explanation: I repeat the facts as I know them from authority to which I cannot refuse my belief, and because they form a new instance of the astonishing variety, and even opposition of character to be found in that wonderful creature, MAN.

October 30.

Part of the equipage of the French Princes was seized during the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick's army, amongst which was found a pocket-book belonging to *Monsieur* the King's brother. Several packets of letters, forming a considerable correspondence on various subjects, between the emigrants and their friends, were also found at Verdun and Longwy by Kellerman's army. All those papers have been transmitted to the



the Convention, and by it submitted to the examination of a committee.

Most of the letters, I am told, are of a private nature, and no way relative to what concerns the state or the public in general. It would be highly unbecoming therefore in the Convention to order those to be published, which can have no other effect than to gratify the spirit of hatred, envy and slander, and create discord and jealousy among families and acquaintance. It is likewise said, that important discoveries have been made by some of these letters, and that they form a complete proof of an intelligence between the King and his brothers, for the ruin of the constitution\*. In support of this assertion, a letter was this day read in the Assembly, said to have been found in the pocket-book above-mentioned. The letter is from the Marquis of Toulangeon, Lieutenant General in the French army of the King's brothers: it unfolds certain measures he had taken for arranging the troops in such a manner as to facilitate their desertion to the Austrians; gives the reason why he had not gone himself to join the Princes at Coblenz; adds that he is of more use to their cause by retaining a command in the French army: that the motives of his conduct are known to the Emperor, and approved of by the King, &c.

A decree of accusation immediately passed against Toulangeon, who, fortunately for him, however, has already made his escape: and after

\* This complete proof, I make no doubt, will be of the nature of the proofs already published, which are also called complete, but to every candid mind must appear very deficient.

the passing of this decree, a member expressed his surprise, that among so many decrees of accusation as had been passed, they had not yet pronounced the most important of all, namely one against the King.

On which Maile, who is of the Committee of Legislature, said, that the process of the King required the greatest solemnity, not because there was any difficulty in proving his guilt, nor to demonstrate it to the French nation, who were already convinced, but to satisfy and give a great example to all Europe; and to avoid the errors which the English had committed in not observing all the necessary solemnities in the trial of Charles the First, for which they were censured by many historians, and justified by none.

In answer to this, Ruhl observed, that the English nation had been justified for the sentence passed on Charles Stuart, by a writer of greater genius than all the historians who ever have written on the subject, namely, John Milton, author of *Paradise Lost*.

Hitherto I had considered Ruhl in a favourable light; there is something natural in his manner, and I thought him a man of humanity; but one of that disposition would hardly have made such an observation at this particular time in the Convention.

October 3<sup>d</sup>.

The Trial of Charles the First of England, translated into French from the State Trials, is to be found of late on all the booksellers tables around the hall of the Convention. An abridgement

ment of the same is cried by the hawkers of pamphlets in the Palais Royal and the various entries to the National Assembly: the conversation is now greatly turned to that subject, and to the expected process of Lewis XVI. I never believed, however, that there was a serious intention in the convention to bring the King to trial, and still less did I think it probable that it would be in their contemplation to bring him to the scaffold; an idea which I cannot entertain without horror. Besides, however devoid of principle some of them may be, I could not conceive that they would commit such an act of cruelty and injustice, without any of the motives which incite wicked men to deeds of such atrocity. Their personal interest evidently dictates the preservation of the King's life, and it seemed unlikely that any member of the Convention, one only excepted, could be actuated by personal enmity: they are almost all of the middle or inferior ranks of life; none of them have ever had opportunities for that kind of intercourse with the King, which usually generates either personal friendship or hatred: they may like or dislike, respect or despise his general conduct and character; but I could see none of the usual sources of personal hatred either good or bad, especially as, with respect to the exercise of authority, the whole reign of Lewis XVI. has been a reign of moderation. He has always manifested a desire to meet the wishes of his subjects; and perhaps his aversion to every measure which had the appearance of being violent, with too great a disposition to *grant*, have deprived him of the power of *refusing*, and reduced him to the state he is in.—I am persuaded that none of his ancestors had so just a claim to the epithets which the public

lic



lic and historians have affixed to their names, as the unfortunate Lewis XVI. has to that of *Louis le trop bon*.

I have excepted one person, to whom the preceding reason does not fully apply, and who may be supposed to be instigated by hatred or revenge; but allowing this to be the case, from all I have observed or heard since I have been in this country, there is reason to think that his influence is infinitely too small to engage either party in measures of which they disapprove.

These considerations were sufficient hitherto to induce me to believe that there was no serious intention in the Convention to bring the King to a trial. But I now begin to fear that a process in some shape or other will very soon be brought on, and when once begun, there is no knowing what may be the issue in a town so much in the power of the populace, and of *such* a populace as that which Paris contains at present.

I am led to this alteration of opinion from having very lately heard a number of citizens, whom I thought of a different opinion, declare their conviction that the King was betraying the country. The rancorous activity of his enemies has at length persuaded them, that, instead of another Henry IV. between whom and Lewis XVI. they formerly found a resemblance, they actually had another Lewis XI. or Charles IX. on the throne.

Besides whether the King ought or ought not to be judged, is not merely considered as a matter

of

of justice or even of expediency, but, most unfortunately, it has become a party question, in which passion may have more weight than either. Danton's party knows that the Girondists wish to save the King, which is reason sufficient with the former to do every thing in their power to promote his trial and condemnation, and to represent the opposition of the other party as a proof of their being aristocrats and royalists in their hearts.

Marat, who is the great agent of Danton and Robespierre, declares that it is highly unjust, and would be a shameful deviation from the flattering tenet of Egalité, after having condemned M. de la Porte and other inferior criminals, to pass over the greatest criminal of all.

Finally, I have been impressed with fears respecting the fate of the King from a variety of circumstances, too minute to be mentioned, which have struck me very lately. It is certainly horrid and disgraceful to human nature, but I am afraid that the populace of this city have heard so much of a grand example that ought to be exhibited to Europe, and their imaginations have dwelt so long on the idea of a King being tried for his life, and afterwards led to execution, that they cannot with patience bear the thoughts of being disappointed such an extraordinary spectacle.

November 1.

When Roland and his friends were attacked by so active and so virulent an opposition, it was not to be expected that they could escape an accusation so easy to make, and so difficult to refute,

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as that they were not actuated by the genuine principles of patriotism, but merely by selfish motives, and that they had no other object in view than to retain the lucrative offices of the state in their own hands.

To stifle the voice of slander at once, upon this subject, Genonné surprised the Convention lately by a speech in which he lamented that a party-spirit had manifested itself so strongly among them. He added that diffidence in each other, the natural effect of the numerous treasons which had lately been discovered, also prevailed to an alarming degree; which, joined to the envy which generates hatred, and produces division, might enable despotism to arise again out of anarchy: he added, that the present times required a great example of self-denial to dry up one great source of party-spirit, silence calumny, and prove to the world that they had not made war on royalty on purpose to divide the regal spoils among themselves, but to obtain freedom to their country—He therefore moved that it should be decreed that no member of the Convention should be capable of enjoying any office in the government for ten years after the decree had passed.

All the members, as if with one voice, called out, Yes, yes; they sprung from their seats, in a fit of enthusiasm, and demanded that the proposal of Genonné should be instantly decreed, which was done accordingly.

This practice of passing decrees the instant they are proposed, without reflection, may be attended with the worst consequences; as for this

decree



decree in particular, it strikes so directly against the views of the leading men of both parties, and is liable, in other respects, to so many weighty objections, that I suspect it will not be long in force even in France; but if it should, it may afford comfort to the minds of Englishmen at this awful period, when there is a just dread of the prevalence of French manners and French opinions, to reflect that there is too much solid good sense in the British Parliament to adopt so foolish a measure.

November 2.  
A most unrelenting spirit against the emigrants appears as often as they are mentioned in the Conventional Assembly—I spoke of this to one of the deputies this evening, expressing my surprise that no member ever said any thing in their favour, although I could hardly imagine but that, in so large an assembly, many of the members had relations or friends among them.

In answer to my observation the deputy said, that the greater part of the emigrants were noblesse, of which class very few are members of the Convention, so that there is little or no connection by blood, and as little by friendship, between the deputies and emigrants. I take it for granted, added he, that you do not think any measure too severe for those emigrants who have taken arms against their country, and as for those who do not appear in arms, it is well known that they are doing every thing in their power to excite every nation in Europe, particularly the English, against France, and if they succeed, and produce a counter revolution, there is no

doubt but these emigrants will exercise still greater cruelties against the Patriots.

I replied, that the Assembly had saved the emigrants the trouble of exciting war, by declaring it first; for that no nation had declared war with France hitherto till France declared war with it; that with respect to England, I imagined that whether she should enter into a war with France or not, would depend on the conduct of the Convention, and not on any thing the emigrants could say or do; and, finally, that if men were to act cruelly towards those whose persons or property were in their power, on a supposition that, if the situations were reversed, those whom they oppress would oppress them, in that case there would be nothing but oppression and cruelty in the world.

I then mentioned the case of one person who had emigrated in very particular circumstances, and had returned to France soon after, stating the case in the strongest and most favourable light, which I corroborated with documents that I had in my possession.

Other deputies joined us, to whom I also mentioned this case, and one of them taking me aside, assured me he saw it in the same point of view that I did, and that he would do what he could to serve the person in question, which, notwithstanding the favourable circumstances, must be attempted with delicacy, because such a hatred prevailed in the Convention against all emigrants, and such a jealousy of each other, that whoever seemed active or zealous in their favour, had a greater probability of injuring himself,

self, than of serving them. You will readily believe, added he, how difficult it is to procure any thing like favour to one who is both a noble and an emigrant, at a period when those nobles who never emigrated, but on the contrary have taken an active part in the Revolution, are looked on with distrustful and jealous eyes.—He then gave me directions how to proceed, and told me to whom, and in what manner to apply—I have followed his advice, and with the best hopes of success.

In the gratification of this hatred to the emigrants, as in many other instances, the Convention oversteps good policy.

General Custine has transmitted letters to the Convention, which have been addressed to him from emigrants in foreign services, who now wish to serve their country, provided they may be allowed to return with safety.

General Biron has likewise written to the Convention in favour of some officers who have been in the army of the Prince of Condé, and now implore forgiveness, and the General's mediation with the Assembly, that they may be permitted to return to France.

In both cases the Convention passed to the order of the day—yet as Biron is at present a very popular general, and as Custine has just taken possession of Frankford, and has been always successful, it might have been expected that more attention would have been paid to their applications.



Besides, at this moment of success, lenient and conciliatory measures towards those unfortunate people who left their country at a time when, assuredly, there were many reasons for leaving it, would appear generous to all Europe, it would please the numerous relations and friends of the emigrants in every department of France, and go farther to attach the whole nation to the Revolution, than any of the decrees they have lately passed, or perhaps than even the victories they have lately gained.

But there are men in this Convention, and unfortunately leading men too, who are ready to sacrifice every consideration to the gratification of their passions, and whose ruling passions seem to be hatred and revenge.

This day the Presidency of Guadet ended, and Herault de Sechelles was elected to succeed him.—Herault is a man of about thirty years of age, of an open engaging countenance, and genteel appearance, circumstances which distinguish him in this Assembly: it is also remarkable, that he is not considered as so much devoted to the Girondists as any of the late Presidents, which is considered as a proof that they are rather losing ground.

November 3.

As the General Council of the Municipality of Paris, which was formed at midnight on the ninth of August, claim the whole glory of the Revolution, they thought they had the best right to retain also the power of the state.

Without

Without consulting the National Assembly, they issued orders for searching many hotels, under various pretexts; detachments of national guards; under leaders chosen by the Council, were also sent to particular churches and palaces in Paris and the neighbourhood, and considerable quantities of plate and other valuable effects carried away, under the pretence of being for the public use, but of which a large portion has been embezzled.

Some members of the National Assembly began a short time after the tenth of August to speak on the subject of these embezzlements, and proposed to make an enquiry into that business: but the National Assembly had then lost all energy; and, according to an expression of one of the deputies, it had become a mere engine for manufacturing decrees at the requisition of the Council of the Commune. As often as any mention was made of establishing a committee to examine into the extent of these embezzlements, and by whom they had been committed, the proposal was heard with evident marks of ill humour by all the members of the Assembly who were also members of the Commune, and by others intimately connected with them.—They who made such proposals, finding themselves unsupported, dropped them; it was not thought prudent to irritate the men who issued those orders of arrest by which the prisons had been filled, and who, in the opinion of many, had also issued the orders by which they had been emptied.

It was expected that the Convention would be able to effect what the late National Assembly attempted in vain, and to restrain the power of the

the Municipality within its proper limits. An account of the usurpations of the General Council had been written to all the departments of France; many of the deputies to the Convention had come to Paris, prepossessed with the idea that Paris wished to govern the state independent of all the other departments—that the General Council governed Paris, and that Danton and Robespierre governed the General Council.

Having heard that a debate of importance was expected, I went to the Conventional Assembly two days ago earlier than usual.

Roland was to present a memorial respecting the state of Paris. When he appeared, contrary to custom, they postponed the business then transacting, to attend to him.—He began by saying, that if the strength of his voice was equal to that of his mind, he should himself read the address which he held in his hand; but as his breast was delicate, he begged that one of the secretaries might be allowed to read it for him.—Lanjuinais ascended the tribune, and read.

In this memorial were stated all the usurpations and acts of despotism which had been committed by the Commune since the tenth of August; many of which were unknown to the generality of the deputies, and seemed to fill them with equal surprise and indignation. Roland stated that he had often required some account of the money, plate, and effects which had been seized by commissioners from the Commune at Senlis, Chantilly, l'Hotel de Coigny, and other hotels, without having had any satisfactory answer: that he had also ad-

dressed



dressed himself to them to know how Lewis  
 XVI. and his family were treated in the Tem-  
 ple, but no notice had been taken of his de-  
 mand. After having demonstrated how both  
 public and private property had been violated,  
 he demanded whether personal surety had been  
 better protected. This led him to mention the  
 horrors of the beginning of September, which  
 he pretty plainly insinuated were committed by  
 the leaders of the Common Council, who, he  
 asserted, were still meditating the most rapaci-  
 ous and bloody designs in support of their aya-  
 rice and ambition.—With this memorial Ro-  
 land presented a letter addressed to the Minis-  
 ter of Justice, in which information is given,  
 “that expressions of the most alarming tendency  
 had been used by certain persons of late;  
 that it had been even insinuated that the business  
 begun in September had not been completed;  
 that the whole cabal of Roland and Brissot should  
 be cut off; that there was a scheme for this  
 purpose; that Vergniaud, Guadet, Buzot, La  
 Source, and others displeased the real patriots;  
 and that Robespierre was the properest person for  
 conducting the government in the present  
 emergency.”

“Ah the villain!” one of the members call-  
 ed aloud, as soon as this name was pronounced.

There was such an uproar in the assembly for  
 some time after Roland's memorial had been  
 read, that no person in particular could be  
 distinctly heard: the noise was mostly occasion-  
 ed by expressions of rage against Robespierre,  
 and partly by a cry that the memorial should  
 be printed, and sent to all the departments and  
 all the municipalities in France.

Robespierre

Robespierre ascended the tribune: the cry against him was so violent that his voice could not be distinguished: he at last was heard to say, that he wished to justify himself from the calumnies of the Minister. He was interrupted by a new cry to close the discussion: he then said he wished to speak against the printing of the memorial.

This was also refused by a pretty universal exclamation; but on its being observed, that they could not decree a proposition without hearing those who wished to speak against it, he was allowed to proceed. He began with a few sentences concerning the printing the paper, and immediately deviated into an eulogium on his own conduct. Guadet, the president, reminded him of the question.

"I have no need of your admonitions," said Robespierre; I know very well on what I have to speak."

"He thinks himself already dictator," exclaimed a member.

"Robespierre, speak against the printing," said the President.

Robespierre then resumed, and declaimed on every thing except against the printing.

His voice was again drowned by an outcry against his wanderings. The president strove to procure silence, that Robespierre might be heard; which he no sooner was, than he accused the President of encouraging the clamour against him.

No

No accusation could be more unjust or more injudicious than this, because it was false, and because every body present was witness to its falsehood. The President had done all in his power that Robespierre might be heard, and had actually broken three bells by ringing to procure him silence.

The President then said, "Robespierre, vous voyez les efforts que je fais pour ramener le silence—mais je vous pardonne une calomnie de plus \*."

Robespierre resumed, and continued to speak of himself a considerable time in the most flattering terms.

Many people prefer speaking of themselves to any other topic of discourse, as well as Robespierre; but in him this propensity is irresistible, Praise acts as a cordial on the spirits of most people, but it is the praise they receive from others which has that effect: what is peculiar to Robespierre is, that he seems as much enlivened by the eulogies he bestows on himself, as others are by the applause of their fellow-citizens.

The panegyric he pronounced on his own virtues evidently raised his spirits, and inspired him with a courage which at last precipitated him into rashness. "A system of calumny is established," said he with a lofty voice, "and against whom is it directed? against a zealous patriot. Yet who is there among you who dares rise and accuse me to my face?"

\* Robespierre, you are yourself witness to the efforts I have made to restore silence; but I forgive you that additional calumny.

"Moi,"



"Moi," exclaimed a voice from one end of the hall. There was a profound silence; in the midst of which, a thin, lank, palefaced man stalked along the hall like a spectre; and being come directly opposite to the tribune, he fixed Robespierre, and said, *Où, Robespierre, c'est moi qui t'accuse\**.

It was Jean-Baptiste Louvet.

Robespierre was confounded: he stood motionless, and turned pale; he could not have seemed more alarmed had a bleeding head spoken to him from a charger.

Louvet ascended, and appeared in the front of the tribune, while Robespierre shrunk to one side.

Danton perceiving how very much his friend was disconcerted, called out, "Continue, Robespierre, there are many good citizens here to hear you."

This seemed to be a hint to the people in the galleries, that they might shew themselves in support of the patriot—but they remained neuter.

The assembly was in such confusion for some time, that nothing distinct could be heard. Robespierre again attempted to speak—his discourse was as confused as the Assembly—he quitted the tribune.

Danton went into it: his drift was to prevent

\* Yes, Robespierre, it is I who accuse you.

Louvet

Louvet from being heard, and to propose a future day for taking into consideration Roland's memorial; and as Marat seemed at this time to be rather en mauvaise odeur with the Convention, Danton thought proper to make a declaration which had no connection with the debate, and which no body thought sincere: "Je déclare à la République entière," he exclaimed, "que je n'aime point l'individu Marat. Je déclare avec franchise que j'ai fait l'expérience de son tempérament, et qu'il est non seulement volcanique et acariâtre—mais infociable \*."

This conveys no favourable idea of Danton's eloquence. After finding the two first qualities in Marat, it is surprising that he could search for a third. It is as if a man were to give as his reason for not keeping company with an old acquaintance, that he not only found him quite mad, and always ready to stab those near him with a dagger, but that, over and above, he was sometimes a little too reserved.

This did not divert Louvet from his purpose: he persevered, and the assembly decreed that he should be heard.

November 4.

He began by requesting the President's protection, that he might be heard without interruption, for he was going to mention things that would be mortally offensive to some pre-

\* I declare to the whole Republic, that I do not love Marat. I frankly acknowledge that I have some experience of the man; and I find not only that he is boisterous and quarrelsome, but also unfociable.

sent—

sent his own hand, and he was almost dead, and  
 could be apt to scream when he came to touch  
 the tender parts. As he continued a little on  
 some preliminary topics, Danton exclaimed,  
 "I defend that the accuser would put his finger  
 into the wound!" he had drawn before the  
 moving masses, and then did not the citizens  
 asked, why then did not the citizens  
 ; "I defend that," replied Louvet, "but why  
 does Danton scream before hand?" the alarm  
 the alarm was given; because their ears were impaled on  
 Louvet then proceeded to unfold the popular  
 artifices by which Robespierre acquired his in-  
 fluence in the Jacobin Society, "that he had  
 introduced into it a number of men devoted to  
 him, and, by an insolent exercise of his power,  
 had driven some of the most respectable mem-  
 bers out of it; that after the tenth of August  
 he had been chosen of the Council General of  
 the Commune, and acquired equal influence  
 there. Where he was on that memorable day,"  
 said Louvet, "nobody can tell; all we know  
 is, that, like Sofia in the play, he did not ap-  
 pear, till after the battle. On the eleventh or  
 twelfth he presented himself to the Commune,  
 and under his auspices all the orders for arrest-  
 ing the citizens were issued;—that orders had  
 been given for arresting Roland and Brissot,  
 which by the care of some of their friends, had  
 not been executed;—that a band of men had  
 arrogated to themselves the honour of the Re-  
 volution of August, whereas the massacres of  
 September only belonged to them." Here Tali-  
 en and some others of Robespierre's faction, who  
 were also of the General Council, began to  
 murmur, on which a member called out—  
 Silence, les bleffés! and Louvet resumed, with  
 great animation—"Yes, barbarians! to you  
 belong the horid massacres of September,  
 which you now impute to the citizens  
 of



at Paris. The citizens of Paris were all present at the Tuileries on the tenth of August, but who were witnesses to the murders in September? Two, or perhaps three hundred spectators, whom an incomprehensible curiosity had drawn before the prisons. But it is asked, why then did not the citizens prevent them? Because they were struck with terror; the alarm guns had been fired, the tocsin had sounded; because their ears were imposed on by false rumours; because their eyes were astonished at the sight of municipal officers, dressed in scarfs, presiding at the executions; because Roland exclaimed in vain; because Danton, the Minister of Justice, was silent; and because Santerre, the Commander of the National Guards, remained inactive. Soon after these lamentable scenes," continued Louvet, "the Legislative Assembly was frequently calumniated, insulted, and even threatened, by this insolent demagogue."

Here Louvet being interrupted by the exclamations of Robespierre's adherents, La Croix went up to the tribune, and declared, that one evening, while he was President of the Legislative Assembly, but not in the chair, Robespierre, at the head of a deputation of the General Council, came to the bar with a particular petition, which Lacroix opposed, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day; that having retired to the extremity of the hall, Robespierre said to him, that if the Legislative Assembly would not with good will do what he required, he would force them to do it by the sound of the tocsin; an which La-

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Croix

croix said, he had taken his seat as President, and related to the Assembly what had passed.

Other members bore testimony of Robespierre's having pronounced the threat, and they confirmed the truth of all that Lacroix had related. One added, that Lacroix's friends had entreated him not to return to his own house that evening, by the Terrace of the Feuillans, because assassins were posted there to murder him.

This interlude excited fresh indignation against Robespierre, who made some efforts to be heard from the tribune. One of the members observed, that a man accused of such a crime ought not to place himself in the tribune, but at the bar.

Robespierre persisted; but the Assembly decided, that he should not be heard till Louvet had finished.

"The Legislative Assembly," said Louvet, resuming the very sentence at which he had been interrupted, "was calumniated, insulted, and menaced by this insolent demagogue, who, with eternal proscriptions in his mouth, accused some of the most deserving representatives of the people with having sold the nation to Brunswick, and accused them the day before the assassinations began: in his bloody proscriptions all the new ministers were included except one, and that one always the same. Will it be in thy power, Danton," continued Louvet, darting his eyes on the late Minister of Justice, "to justify thy character  
to

to posterity for that exception? Do not expect to blind us now by disavowing Marat, that *enfant perdu de l'assassinat*: it was through your influence, by your harangues at the Electoral Assemblies, in which you blackened Priestley, and white-washed Marat, that he is now of this Convention. Upon that occasion I demanded leave to speak against such a candidate: as I retired, I was surrounded by those men, with bludgeons and sabres, with whom the future Dictator was always accompanied: those body guards of Robespierre, during the period of the massacres, often looked at me with threatening countenances, and one of them said, *It will be your turn soon.*"

Louvet added, that he accused Robespierre of having calumniated some of the most meritorious citizens of the Republic; of having accused them unjustly, at a time when accusation was proscription; of having insulted and menaced the National Assembly; of having domineered over, and by intrigue and terror influenced, the elections of the Electoral Assemblies of Paris; and of having attempted the supreme power. He demanded that a committee might be appointed to examine into his conduct.

He then said that he accused another man who had, to the astonishment of all France, been introduced among them by the former, of whom he was the tool. Several voices called out, Marat! Louvet concluded by saying, that he hoped they would also pronounce a decree against all those monsters who instigate to murder and assassination, against a faction which



from personal ambition was tearing the Republic in pieces; and that they would also decree that the Executive Power, in cases of commotion, might call upon all the military force in the department of Paris, and order it to act for the restoration of tranquillity in the manner it judged expedient.

Robespierre ascended the tribune as soon as Louvet had finished.

The Assembly seemed unwilling to hear him: some proposed that the discussion should be postponed till next day, and that then Robespierre should be heard at the bar. Louvet moved that he should be heard immediately. Robespierre declared that he did not intend to make his answer then, but desired that the 5th of November might be appointed for that purpose. — This attack of Louvet, and the debate which followed, took place several days ago. Louvet was greatly admired for the firmness of his behaviour, and the acuteness of some of his remarks.

Robespierre was thrown into such confusion, that he did not fully recover his spirits and recollection afterwards. The effect of eloquence on an assembly of Frenchmen is violent and instantaneous: the indignation which Louvet's speech raised against Robespierre was prodigious; at some particular parts I thought his person in danger. I fancy the demand of so long an interval before he should make his defence, was suggested by Danton, or some other of his friends; it was a prudent measure, had he attempted to answer immediately, he

he must have lost his cause: all his eloquence and address could not at that time have effaced the strong impression which Douvet had made.

Although he drew the attack on himself by his imprudent boasting, yet he was taken unprepared: the galleries in particular had been neglected on that day, for the audience shewed no partiality—a thing so unusual when he spoke, that it is believed to have helped greatly to disconcert him.

November 5.

Two or three days after the scene above described, Roland wrote to the Convention, that a late address of the Commune of Paris, which had *not* been ordered by the Convention to be printed, or transmitted to the departments, had nevertheless been inclosed in covers directed and franked by the Mayor of Paris, and put into the post-office: that he had ordered them to be stopped, because the Convention had disapproved of the address, and because he believed the name of Petion on the covers to be forged.

Petion immediately rose, and declared that he knew nothing of the intention of transmitting the address to the departments, and had franked none of the covers.

This letter from Roland produced a warm debate, which served only to animate the two parties more violently against each other; one accusing the Commune of a low and factious manœuvre, in endeavouring to circulate an

address disapproved of by the Convention, and which is of a pernicious tendency; the other accusing the Minister of a despotic and illegal act in wounding public confidence, by arresting the course of correspondence.

Like all debates in a numerous assembly, where the passions are inflamed, it soon deviated from the object on which it began, and extended to the other subjects of recrimination; during which Barbaroux of Marseilles, who had been prevented from speaking on the day on which Louvet accused Robespierre, made a very spirited harangue against the latter and his partisans. It was nearly to the same purpose with that of Louvet, but more correct and concise: its objects were to remove all jealousy of the Marseillois, to urge the necessity of an armed force to protect the Convention from the brutality of the mob, and to increase the suspicions of the ambitious views of Robespierre.

He began by asking "if the representatives of twenty-five millions of men were to bend their heads to thirty factious persons."

"The inhabitants of the South are accused of having projected a federal republic," continued Barbaroux; "yet we, their representatives, declare, that they have instructed us to oppose every project of that nature. I call on Marat to rise and prove that ever there was such a project, or to own himself to be a calumniator."

He then proposed in the committee of the Convention, that the Council General of the Commune be authorized to form itself at once into a tribunal, and to judge, in a jury of accusation, a jury of judgment, and a jury of execution.



"The friends of Roland are accused of wishing to domineer by means of the armed force which is requisite to maintain the independence of the Convention: I undertake to prove, when that question comes regularly before us, that this is rendered impossible by the very manner in which that force is proposed to be established. It is not to be formed of Swiss guards, but of French citizens from the eighty-three departments.

"Those agitators," continued Barbaroux, "who for villanous purposes wish to spread anarchy over the nation, have the audacity to say *they* brought on the révolution of August, and by that falsehood try to make us forget their project of a Dictator, their numerous robberies and their horrid murders in September: but they never can be forgotten; nor shall I cease to act against that faction, till the murderers are punished, the effects restored, and the dictators thrown from the rock.

"What," continued Barbaroux, "can more plainly demonstrate the ambitious projects of those men, than that which has already been mentioned in the Convention; namely, that immediately before the 10th of August, Robespierre invited Rebecqui and me to his house. He spoke to us of the necessity of our rallying all our force under some man who enjoyed great popularity; and Panis, as we took our leave, named Robespierre as the properest man for being Dictator. And Robespierre himself proposed in the committee of twenty-one, that the Council General of the Commune should be authorised to form itself at once into a jury of accusation, a jury of judgment, and a tribunal

tribunal for applying the laws. Let it be remembered that he himself had the chief influence in the General Council. And finally, said Barbaroux, "this very man, on another occasion, eager to obtain a decree, came to the bar of the National Assembly, and threatened the representatives of the nation to make the town he founded, if they did not form one as he thought proper to dictate."

This discourse, while it increased the indignation already kindled against Robespierre, must also tend to make his adherents more zealous to defend him;—it is their own cause:—when the murderers of the prisoners, and the embezzlers of goods are threatened, many members of the Convention, and more of the General Council, must be in a state of severe alarm. And severely will this alarm be avenged, if these men should ever obtain the ascendancy in the Convention. On the 2d of September, they shewed what is to be expected from them when in power.

November 6.  
Great inconvenience was found in the Convention, from the petitions which formerly were allowed to be presented at all times. By a late decree, all petitions are ordered to be reserved for Sunday, when, unless something of great importance intervenes, the sole business is to attend to them.

This renders it the least interesting day for attending the Convention. I went last Sunday, in company with an English gentleman, to St. Cloud. This was the summer residence

of the Orleans family from the time that *Monseigneur*, brother to Lewis XIV. built the chateau, till lately.

From the house itself, as well as from many parts of the delicious park, there is an extensive view comprehending Paris, all the villas around it, a rich landscape of hills, woods and meadows, through which the Seine flows in many graceful windings. The cascade is greatly admired, and the park has been considered as the happiest effort of the genius of Le Nôtre, who has made a delightful use of all the variety of surface it contains, as well as of the Seine which flows by it.—St. Cloud, in the opinion of many, was preferable to any of the royal villas before it became one of them: it was purchased by the Queen from the Duke of Orleans about five or six years ago, since which time, the apartments within the chateau have been altered at a great expence, and much improved. Nothing can be conceived more commodious. Notwithstanding the richness and magnificence of some of the apartments, this palace, with all its splendid furniture, has remained hitherto undespoiled and unsullied.

The contrast between the magnificence we were beholding, and the wretched apartment in which the person for whom that magnificence was prepared is confined, naturally presented itself to our minds. This idea, with that of the various aggravating circumstances which attend her confinement, made us contemplate the splendour of St. Cloud through a very gloomy medium. The whole manner of  
the



the man who conducted us through the apartments, sufficiently evinced that his thoughts sprang from the same source, and flowed in the same channel with ours.

Those who have had the curiosity to visit the houses of princes and villas of nobility, may have remarked with what ostentation and pride the house-keeper and servants conduct strangers through magnificent apartments: they enjoy the admiration of the visitors, and swell with self-importance in proportion to the richness of the furniture. They are not, however, more grossly mistaken than those proprietors, who, deriving all their importance from the same quarter, think it amounts to a great deal.

Nothing of this kind, but all that is opposite, appeared in the demeanour of the man who attended us through the palace of St. Cloud: his mind evidently borrowed no pride from the magnificence he had under his care, but seemed rather to be engrossed with the sad fate of the owners, and the solitudes

\* *laqueata circum tecta volantes.*

The annals of the unfortunate do not record any situation more dreadful than that of the unhappy Queen of France.

Any woman in her situation would be exceedingly miserable; but we cannot help thinking that she must be more miserable than any other woman in the same situation.

The

The distance at which her rank seemed to have placed her from the reach of the misery which now surrounds and threatens to overwhelm her, renders her sufferings more acute. This circumstance, independent of any absurd prejudice in favour of rank, must increase the sympathy of every feeling heart. Although she is the daughter of an Empress, the sister of Emperors, and the wife of a King who was lately considered the most powerful in Europe, she seems now more pre-eminent in wretchedness than ever she was in rank and splendor.

She was not only a queen, but is a beautiful woman; not only accustomed to the interested and ostentatious submission that attends power, but to that more pleasing attention and obedience which are paid to beauty. Fortune accompanied her friendship, and happiness her smiles. She found her wishes anticipated, and saw her very looks obeyed.—How painful must now be the dreadful reverse! shut up in a prison, surrounded with barbarians, wretches who rejoice in her calamity and insult her sorrow, with what affecting propriety might this unfortunate Queen adopt the pathetic complaint of Job! “He hath fenced up my way that I cannot pass, and he hath set darkness in my paths.

“He hath stripped me of my glory, and taken the crown from my head.

“He hath destroyed me on every side, and I am gone; and mine hope hath he removed like a tree.

“He

"He hath put my brethren far from me.  
 "My kinsfolks have failed, and my friends  
 have forgotten me."

What has this most unfortunate of women  
 already suffered? what is yet reserved for  
 her to endure? She has been shocked by the  
 cruel murder of many of her servants and  
 friends, some of them for no other reason  
 than their fidelity to her. She now suffers all  
 the agonies of suspense—her heart throb-  
 bing from recent wounds, and her mind ter-  
 rified, not for her own fate only, but for those  
 of her sister, her husband, and her children.—  
 No; the annals of the unfortunate do not re-  
 cord, nor has the imagination of the tragic  
 poet invented, any thing more dreadfully af-  
 fecting than the misfortunes and sufferings of  
 Marie Antoinette queen of France; and for  
 ages to come, her name will never be pro-  
 nounced unaccompanied with execrations  
 against the unmanly and unrelenting wretches  
 who have treated her, and suffered her to be  
 treated, in the manner she has been.

November 7.

From St. Cloud we wished to drive to Mont  
 Calvaire, but found part of the road impas-  
 sable for a carriage, and were obliged to re-  
 turn and go directly to Paris.—It seems very  
 strange, that a road between a royal palace  
 and a neighbouring hill to which there is so  
 great a resort from other places should be in  
 this state. The day was one of the finest I  
 ever saw. On coming to the barrier, im-  
 mediately before we entered Paris, a waggon  
 stood



"He hath but my presence for from the road across the road, which stopped our carriage: the coachman had some words with the waggoner, who was drinking with some fans-culottes. He seemed in no hurry to move his waggon out of the way, notwithstanding the repeated request of our coachman, who, after a little altercation, lost his temper so far as to make use of the term *canaille*, which has such an aristocratic sound, that it alarmed me. I instantly and very loudly rebuked the coachman; which pleased the audience so much, that they removed the waggon, and we passed unmolested to Paris.

I was the more alarmed at this expression, on account of a scene which I had been witness to in the gallery of the National Assembly. A man dressed like a gentleman had a dispute with two persons of a poor appearance; he called them *canaille*, which drew the severest of all repartees from one of them, namely, that he was an aristocrat. The people around took part against the accused person, who tried in vain to refute the charge; they would not listen, but obliged him to leave the gallery.

A gentleman who had entered with him was very near being reduced to the same necessity. One addressed him in an angry tone, saying, "The people are not to be treated in the insolent manner your friend did, Sir."

To which the other answered with mildness, "il n'est pas probable, Monsieur, que j'aie

la moindre intention d'insulter le peuple, puis-  
que j'ai l'honneur d'en faire partie.\*"

November 8.

On the day on which Robespierre made his  
defence, the galleries of the Conventional As-  
sembly were crowded at an early hour; but  
having an order from the President for the  
box of the Logographe, I was admitted at the  
usual time.

There was not so great a crowd of the po-  
pulace at the entry to the Assembly, as I have  
sometimes seen; but those who were there  
expressed their partiality for him, and dislike  
to his accusers. On the terrace of the Feuil-  
lans, the groups were mostly formed of his  
partisans: one fellow accompanied by two or  
three others carried tripe on a pole, which they  
swore they would force those to eat, who  
should vote against so distinguished a patriot.

Immediately before Robespierre ascended  
the tribune, a deputy complained that the  
galleries were unfairly filled; that certain  
privileged persons, chiefly women, had been  
introduced for the purpose of applauding;  
while all the impartial citizens were kept out:  
"Des citoyennes," he exclaimed, "sont à la  
porte des tribunes, tandis que d'autres por-  
teuses de cartes privilégiées sont facilement  
entrées †."

\* It is not probable that I should have any intention to  
insult the people, since I have the honour to be one of  
them.

† Some female citizens are kept at the door, while other  
females with privileged tickets are seated in the tribunes.

This

This observation occasioned an universal laugh, and every body turned their eyes to the galleries, which were almost entirely filled with women. Robespierre's eloquence is said to be peculiarly admired by the sex; and it has been remarked, that on the nights when he was expected to speak at the Jacobins the proportion of females in the galleries was always greater than usual.

When Robespierre appeared in the tribune, it was evident that he had entirely recovered his spirits, and he certainly made a much better figure than he did when he was last there.

"I am accused," said he, "of having aimed at the supreme power. If such a scheme is criminal, it must be allowed to be still more bold. To succeed, I must have been able not only to overthrow the throne, but also to annihilate the legislature, and above all, to prevent its being replaced by a National Convention. But, in reality, I myself was the first who, in my public discourses and writings, proposed a National Convention as the only means of saving the country. To arrive at the dictatorship, to render myself master of Paris, was not sufficient; I must also have been able to subdue the other eighty-two departments. Where were my treasures? where were my armies? what strongly fortified places had I secured? All the riches and power of the state were in the hands of my enemies. In such circumstances, to make it credible that I had such a scheme, my accusers, must demonstrate that I am a complete madman."



"Ce n'est pas la l'embarras \*," said one of the deputies near me to those around him.

"And when they have made that point clear," continued Robespierre, "I cannot conceive what they will gain by it, for then it will remain for them to prove that a madman can be dangerous in a state."

"Bah!" said the deputy who had already spoken, "ils sont let plus redoutables †."

Robespierre denied having ever had much connection with Marat, and he explained by what means he had been induced to have the little which he avowed; and he asserted, that Marat had not been chosen to the Convention from his recommendation, nor perhaps from any high opinion which the electors had of that Deputy, but from their hatred to the aristocrates, whose mortal enemy they knew Marat to be.

"I am accused," continued Robespierre, of having exercised the despotism of opinion in the Jacobin Society. That kind of despotism over the minds of a society of freemen could only be acquired and obtained by reasoning. I find nothing therefore to blush for in this accusation. Nothing can be more flattering to me than the good opinion of the Jacobins, especially as Lewis XVI. and Monf. de la Fayette have both found that the opinion of the Jacobins is the opinion of all France. But now, that society, as Louvet pretends, is not

\* That would not be difficult.

† They are the most dangerous.

what

what it was, it has degenerated; and perhaps, after having accused me, his next step will be to demand the proscription of the Jacobins. We shall then see whether he will be more persuasive and more successful than Leopold and La Fayette.

“Louveteur next tries to vilify the General Council of the Commune; those men who, chosen by the sections, assembled in the Town House on that awful night when the conspiracy of the Court was ready to burst forth; those men who directed the movements of that insurrection which saved the state; who discovered the measures of the traitors in the Tuilleries, by arresting the Commander of the National Guards, who had given orders to the leaders of battalions to allow the people to pass towards the Caroussel, and then attack them in the rear: those patriots are of too much energy of character to be esteemed by the slaves of monarchy; but it is not in the power of calumny and imposture to preclude the heroic service they were of to the Republic from the records of history.

““They are accused,” continued he, “of arresting men contrary to the forms of law. Was it expected, then, that we were to accomplish a revolution in the government with the code of the laws in our hands? Was it not because the laws were impotent, that the Revolution was absolutely necessary?—Why are we not accused also of having disarmed suspected citizens, and of excluding from the assemblies which deliberate on the public safety, all known enemies of the Revolution?”

Why do you not bring accusations against the Electoral Assemblies and the Primary Assemblies? they have all done acts, during this crisis, which are *illegal*, as illegal as the overthrowing of the Bastille, as illegal as Liberty itself.

"When the Roman consul had suppressed the conspiracy of Catiline, Clodius accused him of having violated the laws. The Consul's defence was, that he had saved the Republic.

"We are accused of sending Commissioners to various departments.—What! is it imagined that the Revolution was to be completed by a simple coup de main, and seizing the Castle of the Tuileries? Was it not necessary to communicate to all France that salutary emotion which had electrified Paris?

"What species of persecution is this, which converts into crimes the very efforts by which we broke our chains? At this rate, what people will ever be able to shake off the yoke of despotism? The people of a large country cannot act together; the Tyrant can only be struck by those who are near him. How is it to be expected that they will venture to attack him, if those citizens who come from the distant parts of the nation shall, after the victory, make them responsible by law for the means they used to save their country? The friends of freedom, who assembled at Paris in the month of August, did their best for general liberty. You must approve or disavow their whole conduct taken together, and cannot, in candour, examine into partial disorders, which have ever been inseparable from great revolutions.



tions. The people of France, who have chosen you as their delegates, have ratified all that happened in bringing about the Revolution. Your being now assembled, here is a proof of this: you are not sent to this Convention as Justices of the Peace, but as Legislators: you are not delegated to look with inquisitorial eyes into every circumstance of that insurrection which has given liberty to France, but to cement by wise laws that fabric of freedom which France has obtained—Posterity will pay attention to nothing in those events but their sacred cause, and their sublime effect."

Robespierre denied however having any connection with the slaughter of the prisoners, which, he asserted, was entirely owing to the indignation of the public for M. Montmorin's being acquitted by the Criminal Tribunal, the escape of the Prince de Poix and other people of importance, joined to the emotion occasioned by the taking of Longwy. In this part of his defence he seems to have copied from a pamphlet written by Tallien, entitled, *La Verité sur les Evénemens de 2 Septembre*\*, in which is hardly a word of truth.

Robespierre then added (and it required a most determined firmness of front to add this), "I am told that *one innocent* person perished among the prisoners, some say more; but one is without doubt too much. Citizens, it is very natural to shed tears on such an accident. I have wept bitterly myself for this fatal mistake. I

\* The real Truth respecting the Events of the 2d of September.

am even sorry that the other prisoners, though they all deserved death by the law, should have fallen sacrifices to the irregular justice of the people. But do not let us exhaust our tears on them; let us keep a few for ten thousand patriots sacrificed by the tyrants around us; weep for your fellow-citizens, expiring under their roofs, beat down by the cannon of those tyrants: let us reserve a few tears for the children of our friends massacred before their eyes, and their infants stabbed in the arms of their mothers, by the mercenary barbarians who invade our country.—I acknowledge that I greatly suspect that kind of sensibility which is only shown in lamenting the death of the enemies of freedom. On hearing those pathetic lamentations for Lamballe and Montmorin, I think I hear the manifesto of Brunswick. Cense to unfold the bloody robe of the tyrant before the eyes of the people, otherwise I shall believe you wish to throw Rome back again into slavery. Admirable humanity! which tends to enslave the nation, and manifests a barbarous desire of shedding the blood of the best patriots!"

Robespierre, having finished his speech, came down from the tribune, amidst the applause of the galleries, and of part of the Convention.

Louvet took his place, and declared, that he was ready to refute every argument, or shadow of argument, that had been urged in his defence. The uproar prevented his proceeding: some called for the printing of Robespierre's speech—others declaimed against it—there was a great confusion for some time—the question.

question was at last put, and the printing decreed.

Merlin of Thionville said, that Roland had dispersed 15,000 copies of Louvet's accusation: he therefore moved, that the same number of the defence should be printed.

When a great debate is expected, those members who intend to speak give their names to the Secretaries, and the president calls them in the order in which the names have been given. Thirteen members gave their names on this occasion: three declared they intended to speak in defence of Robespierre, five against him, and five on the subject in general. This formidable number of speakers, and the known tediousness of some of them, appeared so awful, that the Assembly became disposed to preclude the discussion. Barrere proposed to close it immediately. Barbaroux was so eager to be heard, that, when refused as a member, he presented himself at the bar as an accuser. Couthon and other friends of Robespierre exclaimed against this, and insisted on the business being stifled, by passing to the order of the day.

Barbaroux retired from the bar, and Louvet attempted to speak—he could not be heard.

One member remarked that, if Robespierre felt himself innocent, he would desire that his adversaries should be heard.

Barrere at last ascended the tribune, and immediately there appeared a disposition in the Assembly



Assembly to hear him, he was considered as an impartial man, who belonged to neither party. His speech seemed to have been prepared: the tendency of it was to shew that accusations and recriminations only served to irritate individuals, and injure the interest of the public; that the time of the Convention was due to the nation, and ought not to be engrossed by deliberations on the crimes or virtues of one or two persons. "It is time," said he, "to estimate those little undertakers of revolutions at their just value; it is time to give over thinking of them and their manœuvres; for my part, I can see neither Syllas nor Cromwells in men of such moderate capacities; and instead of bestowing any more time on them and their intrigues, we ought to turn our attention to the great questions which interest the Republic."

He then moved to pass to the order of the day; which, after some further debate, was agreed to; several members who had shewn great eagerness to proceed with severity against Robespierre immediately after Louvet's accusation, having, during the interval, either been gained by his friends, or influenced by their own reflections, that it was best to give up a measure, which, however proper in itself, seemed inexpedient in the present state of men's minds. Some of them think that, if Robespierre were ordered to be arrested, it would occasion an insurrection, and that an attempt to punish the authors of the massacres would occasion their renewal.

Thus this business ended in a kind of drawn battle, which is perhaps the worst end it could have

have for the interest of the Republic, for the parties remain too nearly equal in force, and likely to ruin the common interest by their mutual animosity.

November 9.  
An account of Louvet's speech against Robespierre was given the same night at the Jacobin Society; it excited great indignation. What is supposed to have provoked some of the members most, was the proposal to examine into the source of the massacres, and to punish the authors. This, however, could not be avowed; they affected therefore to feel only for the attack on Robespierre, which was denominated by various speakers a conspiracy against patriotism itself, by a set of men of aristocratic principles, who were in the pay of Roland.

The names of Louvet, Rebecqui, and Barbaroux, were still on their lists as members of this Society: it was proposed to expel them, and the vote was carried.

Robespierre himself was not in the Society, but his brother was. He made a speech on the occasion, in which he declared, that he had been often afraid, during Louvet's speech, that some members of the Convention would have stabbed his brother; that he had heard one of them swear that he was determined on it. There was an outcry immediately that he should name the horrid wretch; but the brother of Robespierre acknowledged that he did not know his name.

The

The Convention's having passed to the order of the day after hearing Robespierre's defence, is considered by his friends as a victory: their triumph on that account is as great as their rage was at his accusation, and they leave no means untried to inspire the citizens with hatred to his enemies. Legendre and Tallien asserted lately in the Convention, that a party of the Marseillois, with some dragoons of the Republic, had appeared with drawn swords in the streets, crying, "Off with the head of Marat!" A bas la tete de Marat! and singing a song, the burden of which is,

Robespierre, Marat, Danton, et tous ceux  
Qui s'en mêleront, à la guillotine, ô gué, &c.

Tallien added, that these same *fédérés* had cursed these Deputies in a coffee-house on the Boulevards, and had cried, "Vive Roland! point de proces au Roi!"

It is true that some *fédérés* and dragoons, being in liquor, sung the words above mentioned in the streets: but the other article is without foundation, and added on purpose to throw odium on the Minister; for the most dangerous aspersion that can be thrown out against any person at present, is, that he wishes to prevent the condemnation of the King.—In the mean time, Marat thinks proper to keep himself concealed; and an uncommon number of patrols have been remarked in the streets, particularly near the dwellings of Robespierre and Danton, ever since Louvet's accusation. Some people assert, that Santerre has given orders



orders for this, merely to convey the notion that the lives of those great patriots are in danger from the Marceulais. Whether this is the case or not, I cannot tell; but I do observe, that those who say they are in danger with them to live, and those who insist upon it that they are quite safe would be very happy to hear of their death.

As for Santerre, whatever his motive may be for ordering those patrols, it was well observed in one of the late journals, that if he had paid half the attention to protect the poor prisoners, that he now shews to guard Robespierre, there would have been no massacres in September.

November 10.  
The Girondists affect to turn the triumph of Robespierre's friends into ridicule; they insist upon it, that passing to the order of the day on an accusation of the nature of that brought by Louvet against Robespierre, would be the most severe and humiliating of all mortifications to a man of good character and common feeling. Whatever truth there may be in that, it is evident that his party are in higher spirits, and have gained strength since he made his defence. The friends of Roland certainly expected that Louvet's accusation would have thrown such an odium on Robespierre and all his adherents, as would have gone far to annihilate their influence in the Convention; instead of which, those members who spoke with horror of his conduct before, mention it with caution and moderation now. —Barrere, by alluding to him with contempt as a dictator, has removed part of the indignation that prevailed against him; and in  
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moving the order of the day he rendered a very important service to Robespierre, and did what was highly agreeable to Danton, who had done every thing he could, from the beginning, to prevent any scrutiny from being made relative either to the conduct of Robespierre, or the murder of the prisoners. I am persuaded, therefore, that Barrere thinks Roland's party, notwithstanding the majority which on some questions they may still have in the Convention, is on the whole the weaker of the two, and that he means to attach himself to that of Danton.

Condorcet, however, judges otherwise; for his conduct, which some time since was thought doubtful, now plainly indicates a decided preference of the Girondists.

M. Condorcet very seldom speaks in the Conventional Assembly: in a public paper under his direction he delivers his political sentiments with more effect than he could by speaking: in this he has of late directed such strokes of ridicule against Robespierre, as no man would do who wished to keep on good terms with him.

In the *Chronique de Paris* of yesterday is the following curious article, which I shall insert, because it shews M. Condorcet's idea of a man who has made so much noise in this country, particularly of late.

"Il y a, dans la Révolution Française, des hommes et des evenemens qui n'y font un certain bruit passager, que parceque la turbulence nationale grossit et gonfle tout, et qu'il y a peu d'observateurs tranquilles.

Ces

Ces petits hommes et ces petits faits ne tiendront que quatre lignes dans l'histoire.

“ Une de ces circonstances de huit jours, c'est l'accusation intentée contre Robespierre, par un homme de beaucoup d'esprit et de talent, mais qui a beaucoup plus d'imagination encore. L'accusateur et l'accusé ont été tous les deux entendus, et tous les deux ont prouvé qu'il étoit impossible de faire de Robespierre un Dictateur.

“ Tout le monde a remarqué que l'on avoit amené beaucoup de femmes à la séance : les tribunes en contenoient sept ou huit cents, et deux cents hommes tout au plus, et les passages étoient obstrués de femmes.

“ On demande quelquefois pourquoi tant de femmes à la suite de Robespierre, chez lui à la tribune des Jacobins, aux Cordeliers, à la Convention ? C'est que la Revolution Française est une religion, et que Robespierre y fait une secte : c'est un prêtre qui a des dévôtes ; mais il est évident que toute sa puissance est en quenouille. Robespierre prêche, Robespierre censure ; il est furieux, grave, mélancholique, exalté à froid, suivi dans ses pensées et dans sa conduite ; il tonne contre les riches et les grands ; il vit de peu, et ne connoît pas les besoins physiques ; il n'a qu'une seule mission, c'est de parler, et il parle presque toujours.—Il refuse les places où il pourroit servir le peuple, et choisit les postes où il croit pouvoir le gouverner ; il paroît quand il peut faire sensation, il disparoit quand la scène est remplie par d'autres ; il a tous les caracteres, non pas d'un chef de religion, mais d'un chef de secte ; il se fait une réputation d'austérité qui vise à la



sainteté : il monte sur des bancs ; il parle de Dieu et de la Providence ; il se dit l'ami des pauvres et des foibles ; il se fait suivre par les femmes ; il recoit gravement leurs adorations et leurs hommages ; il disparoit avant le danger, et l'on ne voit que lui quand le danger est passé. Robespierre est un prêtre, et ne fera jamais que cela\*."

Bazire,

\* In the French Revolution certain men and certain events have made a temporary noise, only because national turbulence swells and enlarges every thing, and because there are but few cool observers. Those little men, and those unimportant events will not employ four lines of history.

One of those incidents of a week is the accusation of Robespierre, by a Man of great understanding and talents, but whose imagination is more extensive than either. The accuser and the accused have both been heard, and both have proved that it is impossible to make a Dictator of Robespierre.

Every body remarked that a great many women had been brought to the galleries of the National Assembly when Robespierre made his defence; among seven or eight hundred which the galleries contain, there were at the most two hundred men, and all the passages were filled with women.

It is sometimes asked, how it happens that such numbers of women are continually attending Robespierre wherever he is, at his own house, at the galleries of the Jacobins, of the Cordeliers, and of the Convention?

It is because the French Revolution is considered as a religion, of which Robespierre is the leader of a sect. He is a priest who has devotees, but it is evident that all his power is *en quenouille*. Robespierre preaches, Robespierre censures; he is furious, grave, melancholic, affectedly exalted,

This expression is used in the ancient French chronicles relative to the succession of the crown, to declare that women are excluded, *la couronne en France ne tombe jamais en quenouille*. It is now applied in other cases, and here implies that Robespierre's power is chiefly over women.

November 11.

Bazire, one of the deputies for the department of the Côte d'Or, and strongly attached to the party of Robespierre, made a report lately from the Committee of General Safety on the present state of the city of Paris.

In this he represented Paris as in great tranquillity—with a view, no doubt, to prove that the armed force which has been so often required for the security of the Convention is not necessary.

He endeavoured to justify in a great measure the massacres of the prisoners in September, and afterwards made one of the most improbable assertions that ever was imagined, namely, that some servants of a lady of the court (it was imagined he meant Madame de Lamballe) began the assassinations, with a view to save their mistresses. His words are: “ Je dois dire cependant, qu'il est prouvé que les domestiques d'une femme célébrée à la cour se déguisèrent en

altered, followed in his opinions, and in his conduct; he thunders against the rich and the great; he lives on little, is moderate in his natural appetites; his chief mission is to speak, and he speaks continually. He refuses those offices in which he might be of service to the people, and chooses those in which he expects to govern them; he appears where he can make a figure, and disappears when the scene is occupied by others; he has all the characteristics, not of the leader of a religion, but of the leader of a sect; he attempts to establish a reputation of austerity which points to sanctity; he mounts on forms, and talks of God and of providence; he calls himself the friend of the poor and of the weak; he makes himself be followed by women, and gravely accepts of their homage and admiration; he retires before danger, and nobody is so conspicuous as he when the danger is over. Robespierre is a priest, and never can be any thing more.

fanc-

sans-culottes, s'armèrent de piques et de tranchans, se portèrent aux prisons, et les premiers égorgèrent des prisonniers avec des marques de fureur assez atroces, et des propos assez violens, pour acquérir quelque crédit dans la foule, et sauver par ce moyen leur maitresse.

“Voilà quels furent les premiers auteurs de ces massacres !

“Celui des prisonniers d'Orleans s'est fait particulièrement par des gens attachés au service de la Reine, reconnus à la tête de l'atroupement de Versailles \*.”

And he added, that as he was in the Committee of Surveillance during these scenes, he knew some important facts relating to them, which it would be improper to reveal at present, but which he would publish perhaps at some future period†.

Bazire

\* I must declare, however, that it has been proved that the servants of a lady of the court disguised themselves like sans-culottes, and being armed with pikes and other deadly weapons, went to the prisons, and joined in the massacres of the prisoners with such fury as they imagined would gain credit with the populace, and enable them to save their mistress.

Those men were the first authors of the massacres.

As for the massacre of the Orleans prisoners, that was chiefly executed by men in the service of the Queen, who are known to have put themselves at the head of the band of assassins at Versailles.

† When I heard Bazire pronounce this, I considered it as entirely false; but I have been since assured, from good authority, that some servants of Madame de Lamballe and of the Princess de Tarente, particularly the valet-de-cham-

bre



Bazire terminated his discourse by blaming the conduct of those who were continually mentioning these scenes in September, which, he insinuated, had been of more service to the consolidating of the Revolution than at first sight might appear; and he advised all parties to forget their former differences, wave all ideas of accusations on the account of the scenes in September, and unite in mutual confidence and friendship for the public welfare.

While Bazire was in this manner preaching peace and tranquillity, the assembly was in an uproar, and the actions and exclamations of the members indicated fury and deadly hatred.

Some called out for printing and dispersing the report, others opposed it.

At last St. André, formerly a calvinist minister, now a deputy for the department du Lot, one of the most violent partisans of Robespierre, made a speech, the tendency of which was to prove the utility of printing and dispersing the report; which would shew the good people how unanimous the Convention was; that all former seeds of dissention were now blasted; that there was no appearance of distrust or accusation; and

bre of the latter, actually joined the mob that surrounded the prison of La Force, and, by adopting the furious language of the mob, endeavoured to gain so much credit as would enable them to save their mistresses. But these servants in no other way joined with the assassins; and the plan, which certainly was formed on the most generous motives, did succeed with regard to Madame de Tarente.

The assertion respecting the Queen's servants at Versailles is without any foundation.

and would remove the error in which the departments were, in believing there was any need of a guard for the Convention, where mutual confidence, freedom of opinion, and tranquillity reigned.

The falshood of these representations, which were delivered in a canting hypocritical tone, were so well known to the Assembly, that they produced a laugh; after which Buzot said, "I should be glad to see real union founded on mutual esteem established among us; but there can be neither esteem nor union between the heroes of the 10th of August and the assassins of September; there can be no union between virtue and vice."

At this phrase, murmurs were heard.

"I despise these murmurs," resumed Buzot; "I am as little enriched by the massacres as by the civil list. I consider Bazire's report as an apology for the massacres, and entirely false, and I oppose its being printed."

Buzot's speech prevented Bazire's report from being printed; but the debates on this occasion augmented that hatred and animosity which before was too violent between the two parties. The Girondists in general have expressed such a determination of prosecuting the authors of the massacres, and have shewn such contempt for the understanding of their opponents, as seems to have kindled mortal hatred, and an implacable thirst of revenge in the breasts of the latter.

November 12.

An event has taken place which has raised the spirits.

spirits of the Convention, before too lofty, to the highest pitch of exaltation.

I was in the Assembly when letters were received from Dumourier with an account of a victory obtained by him at Jemmappe, which was followed by the surrender of Mons to the French troops. An aid-de-camp of the General stood at the bar. After the letters had been read, he addressed the Convention to this effect:

“Citizens Representatives,

“I am a soldier, and no orator; but I will inform you of one memorable thing of which I was witness on that day. Baptiste, valet-de-chambre to General Dumourier, rallied some squadrons in the midst of the battle, put himself at their head, led them again to the enemy, and seized, sword in hand, a post of importance.”

One of the secretaries then read a passage from a letter of the General to the War Minister, in which he recommends Baptiste, confirms the account which the aid-de-camp had given of his gallant behaviour in the action, with this additional circumstance—that when Dumourier offered a pecuniary recompence to Baptiste, the latter declared that he desired no other reward than that of being permitted to wear the national uniform.

Baptiste was brought to the bar, and in the midst of loud and repeated applause it was decreed, “That the citizen Baptiste, who had rallied a regiment of dragoons, and four battalions of volunteers, at the battle near Mons, should receive the fraternal kiss of the President



dent of the Convention; that he should be clothed and armed at the expence of the Republic; and that the Minister at War should authorise General Dumourier to give him a commission in his army."

A variety of letters were then read relative to Dumourier's operations, before the battle, and until his making himself master of Mons; in which the officers who had most distinguished themselves were mentioned, many of whom were severely wounded: one officer in particular of the Gendarmerie Nationale, received one-and-forty wounds with sabres, after having killed seven of the enemy with his own hand. Dumourier also highly praises young General Egalité for his intrepid and skilful conduct, and Lieutenant-colonel Larue his aid-de-camp, with whom he sends the dispatches.

Monsieur Egalité himself, who had never before ventured to speak in the Assembly, thought this a favourable moment for him to appear in the tribune: he said that he wished to communicate to the Convention what General Dumourier's modesty had prevented him from mentioning; namely, that he had personally led on the troops who had taken several redoubts sword in hand.

Cambon said, "As many citizens may be near death in the various provinces of France, I require, that extraordinary couriers may be immediately sent to all the departments, that our dying countrymen may enjoy the comfort of being acquainted with the triumph of the Republic before they expire."

Jean

Jean Debry proposed that the sixth of November, on which the victory of Jemmappe was gained, should be appointed as a day of annual rejoicing.

Lafource opposed this. "Let us wait," said he, "until the triumph of Liberty is complete, by the defeat of all the tyrants at war with us; let us not by partial distinctions create jealousy in the other armies of the Republic: remember the success of Custine, and the 20th of September, which does so much honour to Kellermann."

"Let us decree no national rejoicing," said Barrere, "when so many men have perished. The ancients, after their victories, appointed funeral ceremonies only. Tyrants order rejoicings, although their subjects have perished. Shall republicans imitate the unfeeling joy of tyrants? You ordained with propriety a public rejoicing for the conquest of Savoy, because it cost no blood. Here 4000 men have perished; the Austrians are men; 300 \* French have likewise perished, and yet you talk of rejoicing!"

But Vergniaud, with a discernment superior to such unnatural and affected sentiments, said, "Undoubtedly men have perished, but the cause of freedom is triumphant. Let us beware of metaphysical abstractions: the love of glory, of our country and of liberty are natural to man; and we, as legislators, ought to cherish those generous sentiments in the hearts

\* It cannot be believed that this account of the killed and wounded is just. Private letters from the army state a much greater number of the French among the slain.

of

of our countrymen. Wretched is the philosophy which damps them! If such sentiments had not glowed in the breasts of Frenchmen, where should we now have been? where our armies? where our victories? One way to keep this sacred fire alive, is public rejoicings on such occasions as the present. Let a national feast, therefore, be decreed for the success of our armies. To a funeral oration's being pronounced on the same occasion I give my consent; but that a national feast be decreed, I demand."

The feast was decreed.

Baptiste, who had withdrawn immediately after the decree had passed in his favour, now appeared again at the bar, dressed in the uniform of the National Guards: he is a handsome and genteel young man. The aid-de-camp, who had remained at the bar while the other was withdrawn, threw his arms around his neck and embraced him the instant he appeared. The hall resounded with reiterated applause.

"Brave citizen," said the President, "enter within the sanctuary of law; the legislators are impatient to have one who deserves so well of his country, seated among them; they are impatient till you receive the recompense due to your intrepidity."

Baptiste and lieutenant-colonel Larue entered into the Assembly; the former was led up to the tribune, where the President saluted him, and presented him with a sword as the gift of his country. How exquisite must have been the sensations of this young man at that moment!

the



the mere idea of them was delightfully affecting. When a gentleman distinguishes himself by any noble action, he attracts praise and admiration, although we presume that he has had honourable sentiments inculcated into his mind from his infancy; but when one born in the lowest rank, who has not received the advantage of education, and whose chief concern for a considerable part of his life, probably, was to ward off the misery of want, and secure daily bread, displays a mind superior to every sordid consideration, and capable of the most generous effort—such a man assuredly is an object of still greater admiration.

November 13

The battalion of Marseillois and some fédérés from other departments, now at Paris, give uneasiness to the party of Danton and Robespierre, in spite of their influence in the General Council and in the suburbs: they find that Roland is supported by a majority in the Convention; they fear that this will continue to be the case as long as the Marseillois and fédérés remain in the capital. Their presence damps the energy of the patriots of St. Antoine, and prevents Danton from reaping the full benefit of their attachment. Great pains have been taken to render the Marseillois odious, and excite a jealousy of them in the minds of the suburb sans-culottes. It was expected that, confiding in their numbers, the latter would have driven the strangers out of Paris; but the very name of Marseillois keeps the suburb patriots in check; and although the courage of the former has not been put to the proof since their arrival at Paris, that of their townsmen, to which the sans-culottes were witnesses on the 10th of August im-

presses their minds with an awful respect for the small band from the same town, now at the capital.

As it was found difficult to drive them out of Paris by force, a plan was formed to get rid of them by policy.

Pache has been War Minister ever since Servan was appointed to the command of the army on the frontiers next to Spain. He owed his situation entirely to the recommendation of Roland; but Danton and Robespierre have had the address to convince him that he will have the best chance of retaining it, by attaching himself to them, and Pache like many others, being more influenced by the favours he expects than by those he has already received, is supposed to have entered into their views.

Custine lately made a requisition of reinforcements for his army: Pache informed the Military Committee of this, and at the same time hinted that it would be proper to send all the fédérés now at Paris, as part of the reinforcement. This plan had the better chance of succeeding, as the first suggestion came from Pache, a man supposed to be the friend of Roland, and as none of the principal members of Danton's party seemed to interest themselves in it.

It was no sooner mentioned in the Convention, however, than Buzot saw through the whole scheme, and unfolded it at full length, as an intrigue to expose the Convention to the most mortifying of all situations, and subject them to the

the insolence of a faction which had the direction of the inhabitants of two of the suburbs.

Barbaroux also represented it as an abominable conspiracy, which, if carried into execution, might expose the lives of many of the Deputies, and end in the pillage of Paris: he insisted that the fédérés could not be of so much service to their country any where as at the capital, where they were ever ready to join with the most respectable citizens in defence of the legislative body, and for the protection of property.

Cambon being struck with the observations made by Buzot and Barbaroux, and with the recollection of some scenes that had been acted immediately after the tenth of August, ascended the tribune with a precipitation, and raised his voice to a pitch that surprised the Assembly, and commanded their attention. He put them in mind of the tyrannical manner in which the last Assembly had been treated by those men who had the direction of the Fauxbourgs, and by that General Council who on the tenth of August had seized the government, and insulted the Representatives of the Nation. He asked if they had forgotten that those usurpers had ordered the barriers to be shut, the tocsin to be sounded; that they had threatened the members; and that when the Swiss who had resigned their arms were placed within the walls of the Assembly, and under the safeguard of the public faith, a gang of blood thirsty ruffians had come to the doors of the Assembly-hall, and demanded that they should be delivered up to their savage rage; that those furious men were on the point of bursting into the Assembly, and dragging them



out to be slaughtered; and that they were not turned from their purpose till Lacroix and some other deputies begged of them *upon their knees* not to proceed to so horrid an outrage \*!

“Would you be again subjected to the same tyranny?” continued Cambon. “If so, order the *fédérés* to leave Paris before an armed force is decreed and established for the protection of the Convention, put yourselves again in the power of those whose despotism you have experienced, — the very tyrants who enslaved the Legislative Assembly; and soon, in the midst of anarchy and civil war, the French Cromwell will appear, tell you that he will be your Protector, and give you peace; that you stand in need of his popularity and despotism to render you happy. But no; we will have no Protector, no King, no Triumvirs, no Tribunes, we will be free; for which purpose, let us secure the independency of the National Assembly, and on no pretext allow the *fédérés* to be removed from Paris till an organized force is formed from all the departments of the Republic, which can prevent the Representatives from being under the influence of one department only.”

Cambon pronounced this with great fire and energy, which seemed to proceed entirely from the strong conviction he felt of the importance of his subject; and which had the greater effect, as his usual style of speaking is uncommonly cold and uninteresting. His manner is awkward,

\* Although I was in the National Assembly when this happened, I was ignorant of it at that time, and therefore it is not inserted in the Journal; but Lacroix on the present occasion, confirmed the truth of Cambon's assertion.

and his countenance dull. He is of a methodical, calculating turn of mind, and considered as their best financier. I have frequently heard him speak before; and generally when he began, I heard it observed—"Now we shall have something worth hearing; this is a man of admirable good sense;" but I always found his good sense so excessively tiresome, that I never could listen to it long. But on this occasion he commanded all my attention, and his discourse made a strong impression on the Assembly; it is believed to have contributed more than all that had been previously said, to the failure of the plan which had been very artfully arranged for sending away the *fédérés*.

The importance put on such a question as this, shews how very loose and unsettled the affairs of this country are; and that in whose hands the government is to remain, depends more on the fans-culottes of two or three of the suburbs of Paris, and a handful of determined fellows from Marseilles, than on the unbiassed will of the Conventional Assembly.

Roland and the Girondists seem to be in something of the same situation that the Court was in a little before the tenth of August. The party of Danton and Robespierre are as earnest for the destruction of the first, as ever they were for that of the second; and they seem preparing to attempt it by the same means.

The court a little before that epoch had the majority of the National Assembly with them, Roland's party have the majority of the Convention with them at present.

The Court had a battalion of Swiss and a band of gentlemen to protect them. The Girondists have a battalion of men from Marseilles and some *fédérés* from other departments for their guards: whether these last will prove more successful than the Swiss is yet to be tried. In the mean time it is evident that each party is more afraid of the other, than either is of all their external enemies.

November 14.

Some days ago I saw the following article in the *Chronique de Paris*:

“ Lorsque Louis a été conduit au Temple, il n’avoit pas le sols; le citoyen Pétion lui a prêté deux mille livres. Voici son billet;

“ Le Roi reconnoit avoir reçu de M. Pétion la somme de 2526 liv. y compris 526 liv. que MM. les Commissaires de la Municipalité é sont chargés de remettre à M. Hue, qui les avoit avancés pour le service du Roi.

Paris, ce 3 Septembre

1792.

(Signé) Louis\*.”

I had the curiosity to shew this to a person

\* When Lewis was conducted to the Temple, he had not a penny; citizen Pétion lent him two thousand livres—here follows his receipt:

The King acknowledges having received from M. Pétion the sum of 2526 livres, 526 livres of which the commissioners of the Municipality are to pay to M. Hue, who had advanced them for the service of the King.

Paris, this 3d of Sept. 1792.

(Signed) Louis.

whom



whom I knew to be of Petion's acquaintance, asking him, at the same time, if he believed it.

He said he could not tell whether it was true or not, but that he would inform me of something to the same purpose, which I might depend upon was true. He then told me, that, having some business with the Mayor, he had waited on him on the 31st of August; that while he was with him a letter was delivered to the Mayor, which having read he threw carelessly on the table, and said to the servant, *Very well.* He then turned to my acquaintance, and conversed with him on the business which had brought him there: and afterwards, as he happened to have his eyes fixed on the letter, which lay open on the table, the Mayor said, You may read it, if you please.—It was from the King, and what follows is a literal translation.

“The King would be glad that Mr. Petion gave an answer to the letter written to him five days ago—this is the last day of the month, and he has received no money to defray his expences: the King will be obliged to Mr. Petion, if he will let him know what he is to receive, and send him an answer to-day.

(Signed) LOUIS.”

Countersigned by two other names.

The patience with which the king has endured every hardship which pressed on himself alone, gives reason to believe that he has been prevailed on to write on this subject from a consideration for others; it is probable that the first letter was written by some attendant, and that this

this not having been answered, the King has been under the necessity of writing the second himself.

That either was necessary is abominable, and betrays real meanness of spirit in those who are affecting a grandeur of mind and a manner of thinking superior to vulgar prejudices.

November 15.

It is difficult to be informed of the treatment which the Royal Family are subjected to in the Temple. Many circumstances of a public nature, however, indicate, that it is indelicate and harsh in the highest degree.

A Committee appointed by the General Council of the Commune of Paris sit there constantly, and, according to the directions given, regulate every thing respecting the Royal Family.

As they have been more closely confined of late, and not seen by the Guards which do duty at the Temple, a report was spread that the King had escaped, although the same number of men as usual continued to mount guard: it was said, that this was done merely to deceive the people, till some excuse could be thought of to avert the public indignation from the Committee for their negligence or treachery. Full of this idea, a body of men from the Sections of Paris, who were on guard at the Temple, insisted upon seeing the King and Royal Family, that they might be satisfied themselves, and enabled to satisfy their fellow citizens, that the King actually was

in the Temple, and that they were not guarding empty apartments, as was strongly suspected.

The Municipal Officers refused to comply with this demand; the guard insisted, and threatened to force their way into the apartments. Santerre was sent for; he expostulated with those mutineers, and assured them, that all the family were safe in the prison. This at length satisfied the volunteers from the sections: but the cannoniers persisted in their demand, and Santerre was under the necessity of appealing to the multitude assembled at the gates of the Temple, who in character of people Souverain decided against the cannoniers, and they were obliged to give up the point.

The Municipal committee, to whose care the Royal Family are peculiarly intrusted, have made frequent reports to the General Council, in which they pretend, that there seems to be a plan of delivering them from the Temple—and the smallest accidental circumstances which occur are considered as signals from without, which are fully understood by the prisoners within.—Mention has been made in those returns to the General Council, of a man's being heard playing on a flute at midnight, of the songs that are sung in the street, the expressions used by the common criers that pass; and it is insinuated that by all these, more is meant than meets the ear. Some time since, the committee represented, that when the family walked in the garden, or appeared on the balcony, a number of persons came to the windows of the adjacent houses, and made signals, which seem to be understood by the prisoners.—One Member of the Council proposed,



proposed, that to prevent this last, the King and Royal Family should never be permitted to come into the open air, till it was so dark that they could not be seen; another proposed to raise the walls in the garden, and make such alterations in the Temple as would effectually prevent the prisoners from being seen by any person without.

Both these ingenious proposals were rendered unnecessary by an order from the Council, that all the family should be prevented from walking in the garden, or even appearing at the windows of their apartment; and when they assemble at the hour of dinner, which is always in the presence of one or two Municipal Officers, every look, word, or gesture of the unhappy prisoners is observed, interpreted, and frequently reported to the Council General as having a mysterious meaning.

Among other circumstances equally unimportant, it was mentioned in one of the memorials of the Committee, made a considerable time ago, that the King continued to wear his star and ribbons, which raised the petulance of the author of a daily journal, who, on the subject of this memorial, expresses himself in the following indecent terms: "Si Louis avoit le sens commun, il auroit quitté lui-même toutes ces chamarrures féodales: il seroit aujourd'hui Republicain, c'est à-dire, plus qu'un Roi; car un Roi n'est que le premier esclave de son empire\*."—He then adds,

\* If Lewis had common sense, he would of his own accord have thrown aside all those feudal trappings; he would by this time have become a Republican, which is being greater than a King; for a King is only the highest slave in his own dominions.  
that,

that, so far from stripping him of them, it would be better, provided the nation allows him to live, to condemn him to wear those shameful emblems for life; and proposes that all who should be convicted of certain crimes should be sentenced to the same punishment—and concludes: “Qu’on les exposât aux regards du peuple bardés de cordons, et l’habit garni d’aigles, de pigeons, d’éléphants, de moutons: les Romains ne dépouilloient pas les rois vaincus des attributs de la royauté; ils les en revêtoient au contraire avec grand soin, et cela pour cracher dessus\*.”

The Council General however saw this in a different point of view. Eager to display a contempt for aristocracy, and constantly asserting that the people in general detest monarchy, they cannot help often betraying a dread of the first, and a suspicion that the nation still retains its old affection for the second—they seem afraid of every thing that puts them in mind of either. Manuel was ordered to go to the Temple, and announce to the King, that as royalty was abolished, there was no propriety in his wearing his former ornaments any longer. The dialogue which passed between the King and Manuel on this occasion, has been published in some of the Journals, probably by Manuel himself; even from this account it appears, that the King received this message with that manly indifference, and undisturbed resignation, which he has shewn

\* Let them be exposed to the view of the people covered with ribbons, and their clothes trimmed with pigeons, elephants, eagles and sheep; the Romans did not strip the vanquished Kings of the emblems of royalty. On the contrary, they carefully dressed them in them for the purpose of spitting on them.

since the beginning of his misfortunes. I have always heard that Lewis XVI. never was much affected by the magnificence of royalty, even when he possessed it in its highest splendour; he seems now to be as little affected by the loss of it; and the malice of his enemies displayed in these paltry instances, instead of throwing disgrace on the Monarch, renders his good qualities more conspicuous.

November 16.

In a work published some years ago\*, I endeavoured to give an idea of that enthusiastic attachment and affection, which the French of those days had, or pretended to have, for their Monarchs.

They spoke of loyalty as a quality of the mind, like generosity or courage: they seemed proud to think that they possessed this quality, if not exclusively, at least in a higher degree than any other people; and every Frenchman wished to be thought loyal, as every man wishes to be thought generous or brave. They seemed even to consider it as a virtue, which ought to be cherished in the breast of the subject, independent of the good qualities, and in spite of the bad qualities, of the sovereign; and they were vain to point out to strangers how far their countrymen surpassed all others in the exercise of it.

An English officer, after having passed some days at Versailles during the reign of Lewis XV. supped in company with several French Gentle-

\* View of Society and Manners in France, &c.



men on the evening that he returned to Paris. The conversation turned on the great attachment and affection of the French nation to their monarchs; and one of the company understanding that the court had been greatly crowded, and that many people of distinction from Paris had been at Versailles during the officer's residence there, asked him, if he had not been surprised at seeing such marks of loyalty.

"No," replied the officer, "I should have been surprised if I had not seen them."

"To be sure," resumed the Frenchman, "the King is the most amiable man in the world, and it is quite natural that all the world should love him."

"That is indisputable," said the officer; "but I was thinking of other reasons which those I saw so assiduously paying their court to the King might have, and which are sufficient to account for all the zeal and attachment they displayed."

The other affected not to understand him, and asked him with great politeness what other reasons they could have.

"Why," replied the officer, "has not the King governments, and regiments, and bishopricks, and many other very beneficial things to bestow? I should imagine that this consideration might render the King an object of great attention, and produce many marks of zealous attachment to his person, even although he were not quite the most amiable man in the world, as all the world allow him to be."

"Be assured, Sir," rejoined the Frenchman, "that there is no people on earth who

have such a veneration for their Kings, and so much disinterested loyalty as the French."

"Forgive me," said the officer, "I know a people who can dispute those qualifications with them, and whose courtiers give stronger proofs of veneration and loyalty to their Prince than even those of Versailles."

"What people?"

"The subjects of the Emperor of Morocco," replied the officer: "there is a monarch for you, gentlemen, who hardly ever speaks to his subjects *qu'à coup de sabre*, and yet they venerate him in the most astonishing manner. When I was in garrison at Gibraltar, I passed over to his dominions, and had the honour of spending some time at his court at Fez: one of this beloved monarch's morning amusements, is shooting arrows at his subjects; when he chances to miss, which seldom happens, for by frequent practice he is an excellent marksman, the person at whom it is directed takes up the arrow, and with all the zeal of the most devoted courtier presents it on his knee to the Emperor."

"On some occasions, he does his subjects the honour of cutting off their heads with his own hands, and is much praised by the courtiers around for his dexterity; in short, they display every mark of attachment to his person, and may be said with truth to love their sovereign to distraction.—This is, gentlemen, what I call disinterested loyalty." But now the French, at least all of them who remain in France, are as solicitous to declare that they never possessed this enthusiastic loyalty, as formerly they were anxious to have it thought they did; as they began to disavow this principle during the reign of the most mild and most equitable monarch they

they ever had; as soon as his power began to be abridged, and continued to profess the most ardent loyalty towards the most oppressive and tyrannical of his predecessors while they retained their power, it is pretty clear on what that boasted loyalty was founded.

But as the men shew an abject and slavish disposition, who affect attachment and veneration for a foolish prince, so those on the other hand betray a malevolent and odious character, who are deficient in respect and gratitude to a mild and equitable monarch, who through the whole of his reign manifested a love of justice, and an equal regard for the rights of his subjects and for his own prerogative.

The loyalty of a man of sense and spirit arises from a due respect for the first magistrate in the state, whose lawful authority he is ready to support for the good of the community, independent of every consideration. To this sentiment of loyalty to the monarch as first magistrate, esteem for personal good qualities, if they exist, and gratitude for favours received, will be added in every well formed mind. But these sentiments do not exclusively belong to loyalty, but are felt for every person of our acquaintance who possesses great or amiable qualities, and from whom we have received favours. But the ostentatious indications of loyalty which are sometimes exhibited, in the vulgar, generally proceed from a mere love of noise; in some of superior rank, from the desire of being looked on as the particular friends of the royal family, unconnected with any idea of their good qualities; and in many it is founded on a lucrative office in possession or in expectation.



November 17.

At the beginning of the revolution, when a veneration for the christian religion was still pretty general in the minds of the people, a democratic abbé, with a view to inspire his audience with a detestation for aristocrates, assured them in his sermon that Jesus Christ was crucified by the aristocrates of Jerusalem.

Some people imagine that the same assertion made in a sermon now, would not produce the same horror in the minds of a French audience that it did three years ago, being of opinion that religious impressions are much weaker now than they were then.

One distinguishing doctrine of christianity, namely, the forgiveness of injuries, seems to be greatly exploded, and considered rather as the effect of weakness than magnanimity: revenge, on the contrary, is applauded as a virtue, and proclaimed as a duty, and the people are stimulated to vengeance, on every real or supposed injury.

Those who excite the populace against the King, tell them, that his execution is necessary, *to avenge* the murder of their brethren in the Carousal on the 10th of August; and that the affairs of the nation cannot prosper, untill their slaughter is amply *revenged*.

It was mentioned in the National Assembly, that some of those patriots, while they lay expiring on the ground, had the consolation of seeing the Swiss cut in pieces, before their eyes were entirely closed.

The

The new levies are assured by way of encouragement, that in case they should be killed in battle, they may make themselves perfectly easy, for that their deaths shall be fully revenged.

A poor woman was weeping bitterly for the death of her son, killed at the battle of Valmy: the soldier who had brought her the news endeavoured to comfort her, saying, " *Consolez-vous, Marguerite, je vous reponds qu'il a été bien vengé \**."

At the civic feast, which took place on account of the conquest of Savoy, a new stanza was added to the hymn of the Marseillois, and was sung by a company of young boys on that occasion :

Nous entrerons dans la carrière,  
Quand nos aînés n'y seront plus :  
Nous y trouverons leur poussière  
Et la trace de leurs vertus.  
Bien moins jaloux de leur survivre  
Que de partager leur cercueil,  
Nous aurons le sublime orgueil  
De les *venger* ou de les suivre  
Aux armes, Citoyens! Formez vos bataillons!  
Marchez! Qu'un sang impur abreuve nos  
fillons.

I was at the Convention lately, when a young officer belonging to the regiment of Beaurepaire appeared at the bar.

He had been at Verdun when the Colonel shot himself: he spoke highly of that officer, by whom, he said, the garrison had been animated to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that they had resolved to be buried in the ruins of the town, rather than surrender: he gave an affecting account of the indignation and grief of the

\* Comfort yourself, Margaret, for I can assure you that he was well avenged.

soldiers, when they found that the Magistrates had capitulated, and were told of the catastrophe of their Colonel; he said, he was deputed from his regiment, to demand vengeance on the traitors who had betrayed Verdun to the enemy, and driven their Commander to despair. He read the names of those he accused, consisting of the Magistrates of Verdun, and some of the Field Officers of the National Guards.

This young officer was handsome, and of a genteel figure: he spoke with fluency and grace; and what interested the audience greatly in his favour, was, that a letter from Dumourier was read, which informed the Convention, that the regiment to which he belonged had behaved remarkably well against the Prussians; and that the officer who brought the accusation had distinguished himself in a very gallant manner.

Some of the Members began to talk of avenging the death of Beaurepaire on the heads of the persons accused by the officer; and the Assembly seemed so much enraged against them, that I was afraid of their decreeing something violent instantly—but one Deputy, who had preserved coolness in the midst of all this emotion, shewed the impropriety of coming to any resolution against the accused citizens, and in the present state of their minds, and begged that the accusation might be referred to the consideration of a Committee.

This measure was at last adopted.

November



November 18. 1793

There are eight or ten theatres for dramatic entertainments of one kind or other at present in Paris : most of them are open four times a week. The pieces represented are generally new, and adapted to the spirit of the times, and to fortify the minds of the audience in sentiments favourable to the Revolution. Kings, and Princes are represented as rapacious, voluptuous, and tyrannical ; Nobility as frivolous and unfeeling, fawning to the sovereign, and insolent to their fellow subjects ; Priests as hypocritical, artful, and wicked. To inspire a hatred to monarchical government, and a love of republicanism, is one great object of almost every new piece—even in those comic pieces whose plots turn on an amorous intrigue, or some object equally remote from politics or forms of government, sentiments of the same tendency occur, and however awkwardly introduced they are sure of being received with applause. A strict adherence to the unities of time and place, and other critical rules, for which the French theatre was formerly distinguished, is now little attended to.

The dramatic writers hate fetters, as much as the Sans Culottes, and sometimes despise decorum as much.

I was lately at the Theatre de la Variété : the piece was entitled *La Mort de Beaurepaire*.

The hero, on hearing that the Magistrates of Verdun have delivered a gate of the town to the Prussians, shoots himself on the stage. The Duke of Brunswick, surrounded by his guards, enters,

enters, and finds a French soldier lamenting over the body of his commander : while the Duke is questioning him, another French soldier is brought in, who has just shot a Prussian officer in the street. The Duke asks, who bribed him to commit this assassination ? The soldier replies, " That he needed no bribe to determine him to destroy the enemies of his country ; that he had no part in the infamous capitulation, by which the Prussians were permitted to enter Verdun ; that he had mistaken the officer he had killed, for the Duke himself, and highly regrets the mistake."—The soldier in his turn demands of the Duke, " who had bribed *him* to invade a country which had renounced conquest, and to make war on a people, who wished only to be governed by laws of their own making, under a form agreeable to their own taste ?" The Duke makes some reply to this, and the dispute becomes warm : but although the soldier is represented as having by much the best of the argument, he is ordered to immediate execution. It appears soon after, that on his way he has leaped over a bridge, and by that means escaped a more painful death. The first soldier concludes the piece, by assuring the Duke, that he will make nothing of his present enterprise, which he had best relinquish in time ; for *the shortest follies are the soonest remedied.*

Many little dramas are daily exhibited on the Boulevards, to the same tendency, and ballads are sung in the streets and public walks : one is entitled, *Comparaison du Régime Ancien avec le Nouveau* ; the last stanza is as follows :

*Jadis,*

Jadis, quand pour l'armée un fils partoît,  
 Sa bonne mere tout aussi-tot pleuroit,  
 Et le retirer elle ne pouvoit ;  
 C'étoit régime despote.

Aujourd'hui, l'on voit toutes les mamans  
 Faire le paquet, armer leurs enfans,  
 Et les envoyer servir dans les camps ;  
 Vive un régime patriote.

The two following stanzas are from another,  
 which is much relished by the people :

Savez-vous la belle histoire  
 De ces fameux Prussiens ?  
 Ils marchaient à la victoire  
 Avec les Autrichiens :  
 Au lieu de palme de gloire  
 Ils ont cueilli des—raisins.

Le Grand Frédéric s'échappe,  
 Prenant le plus court chemin ;  
 Mais Dumourier le rattrappe,  
 Et lui chante ce refrain :  
 N'allez plus mordre à la grappe  
 Dans la vigne du voisin.

A writer in one of the Journals observes, that small springs are capable of moving great machines ; and that popular ballads have had considerable influence in the revolutions of nations ; he adds, “ La chanson des Marseillois éclaire, inspire, et réjouit à la fois. Je conclus à ce que l'on attache quatre chanteurs à chacune de nos armées. Faire notre Révolution en chantant, est un moyen presque sûr de l'empêcher de finir par de chansons \*.”

\* The Song of the Marseillois at once enlightens, inspires, and rejoices. I therefore move, that four good Singers shall be appointed to each of our armies. To accomplish our Revolution with gaiety and good humour, is one sure way to prevent its ending in a song.

What



What truth is in this observation, is not worth examining; but, if the termination of the French Revolution depends on the good humour and humanity with which of late it has been carried on, it will have a dismal ending.

ember, 19.

Marat has kept himself concealed for some time, but his Journal is continued as usual. He dates it from a subterraneous habitation (d'un Souterrain); in which, he says, he is obliged to bury himself alive, that he may be safe from the daggers of assassins. And why am I obliged to hide myself? he asks of the people, to whom his Journal is addressed—"O peuple, que je chéris, que je porte dans mon cœur, pour avoir pris votre défense, pour avoir été votre ami, &c. &c.\*"

It seems extraordinary, to address the mob of Paris in the style of a lover to his mistress; but it is still more extraordinary, that a mob, who have given such proofs of ferocity, should be deluded by the language which seduces a fond girl.

The general turn of his Journal, however, is not in the same tender strain, even since he dated from below ground. The manner in which he vindicates himself from the accusation of being sanguinary, will be thought curious.

\* O people, whom I love, who are always nearest my heart, for having always been your friend and advocate.

"Le

“ Le grand cheval de bataille de mes detracteurs est de me piendre comme un homme sanguinaire, qui est sans cesse à prêcher le meurtre et l’assassinat. Mais je les défie de faire voir autre chose dans mes écrits, si ce n’est pas que j’ai démontré la nécessité d’abatre quelques centaines de têtes criminelles pour conserver trois cent mille têtes innocentes\*.”

In his Journal of this day, is the following paragraph: “ Je ne croirai pas à la République, que lorsque la tête de Louis Capet ne fera plus sur ses épaules, et que les soldats de la liberté ne feront plus menés à la boucherie par des généraux courtisans\*.”

In the midst of all the success of Dumourier, this man exclaims against him for having permitted the Prussians to escape out of France, and he writes in the same style of the other Generals, whom he describes as men of aristocratic principles, and enemies of the people; and adds whatever he thinks most likely to excite the populace against Louvet, Barbaroux, Gensonné, Gaudet, Buzot, Vergniaud, Kersaint, and all the faction Rol-Brissotine, as he denominates them. But what may lead to more extensive mischief than all the rest is the drift of the motto of his Journal: “ Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis:” that is to say, “ Take the money from the rich, that it may be restored to the poor.” This

\* The great aim of my detractors is to paint me as a sanguinary man who is always preaching murder and assassination. But I defy them to point out any thing in my writings, unless that I have demonstrated the necessity of cutting off a few hundred criminal heads to preserve three hundred thousand innocent ones.

\* I shall never think the Republic established, until the head of Lewis Capet is no longer on his shoulders, and until the soldiers of Liberty shall be no longer led to slaughter by generals who are courtiers.

This plainly prompts to universal pillage : and perhaps the wickedness of faction never was pushed farther than in the protection given to such an incendiary as this Marat ; for, notwithstanding all the public disavowals that have been made, that he is powerfully protected seems to me evident.—He dines from a cellar, but every body believes he is now living at his ease in very good quarters, above ground ; and nobody can doubt, but that it would be a very easy matter to discover him, if it were thought safe and prudent to seize the man. But they cannot even suppress his Journal ; it is cried every night in the Palais Royal : a little boy came bawling after me with it, as I returned home a few nights ago, “ Journal par Marat, l’Ami du Peuple !—combien voulez-vous, Citoyen Anglais ? Journal par l’Ami du Peuple !—Ah, c’est bien intéressant aujourd’hui—vous prendrez deux ou trois, n’est-il pas vrai, mon cher Milor ? ”

November 20.

It is most unpleasant to observe how little sensation the cruel state in which the Royal Family is, occasions in Paris, and how small a part of general conversation it occupies : as for the lowest mob, they never mention them but with some foul epithet of abuse : this does not surprise me, because they are either hired for the purpose, or, like all mobs, join in the cry that is suggested, and press blindly on, according to the impulse given by others ; I speak not therefore of them, but of the other ranks of society.

Whatever



Whatever people's sentiments are with regard to the Revolution, whether they are what is here called Aristocrates, or Democrates, one should think that so severe a reverse of fortune, and one so unexampled in the political state in which Europe has so long been, would occasion more general sympathy. That this sympathy should not be displayed in public, is easily accounted for: but even in private and confidential conversations, where no reserve is used on topics equally dangerous, the misfortunes of the Royal Family seem to be felt in a very slight manner, by some who might have been expected to feel them most severely.

What an affecting contrast does this indifference and neglect make with the obsequious attention, almost to adoration, which was paid to this family by the whole French nation; with the emulation and unwearied assiduity of all ranks to captivate their notice and gratify their wishes: with the protestations of esteem, respect, and affection they have been accustomed to hear from their childhood!

All those external marks of veneration were accompanied, no doubt, with the strongest assurances of their being the offspring of genuine sentimental preference, bestowed on personal virtues, uninfluenced by any expectation from their power, and purified from all selfish considerations.

The cannon of St. Antoine, and the sabres of the Marseillois, exterminated the virtues of the King on the 10th of August; and every day of his imprisonment in the Temple seems to have added some new article to a list of vices of which he is now accused, and which were never

heard of before.—I never saw a man in the National Assembly, or elsewhere, eager to distinguish himself by violent sallies against the King and his unfortunate family, but I imagine I behold a wretch who would be the most abject of his courtiers, if, by an unexpected turn of affairs, the Monarch were re-established on the throne. Nor did I ever know any men, who were distinguished for adopting the prejudices, abetting the caprices, and affecting wonderful attachment to the persons of Princes in the fulness of power; without suspecting that they would be the most turbulent demagogues, and the bitterest enemies of those very Princes, if by any accident they should ever be in the same situation with the Royal Family of France.

November 21.

When a man, who, from his situation in life, or from the commission he enjoys, is guarded from retaliation, treats another, who is in his power, with insolence or cruelty, it naturally excites feelings of indignation and contempt. When an inferior behaves with insolence to his superior, a blackguard, for example, to a gentleman in the streets of London, it raises disgust, but not contempt as in the former instance, because the blackguard *may* run some risk—he is not absolutely sure of impunity.

It was natural to suppose, that the imprudent introduction of the term *égalité* would produce an universal insolence among the lower classes of people in France towards their superiors; and I am still convinced it will in process of time be the case; but I confess I have not hitherto remarked any disagreeable instance of this

this nature. No person, indeed, of whatever rank, is allowed to dress his footmen in livery, but every one is allowed to have as many footmen as he pleases; and when L. L's carriage was driving, a day or two since, in at the gate of the Louvre, it was stopped by the sentinel, who had observed that the hammercloth had fringes of a different colour; and informed his Lordship, that such a kind of distinction was no longer permitted in France, being contrary to that *égalité* which every Frenchman had sworn to. The coachman had been ordered never to use but a plain cloth; but, having a fringed one in his possession of which he was very vain, he had ventured to adorn his coach-box with it on this unfortunate day. As the poor fellow was taking it off with a very mortified air, the valet de place reproached him for having put it on; which the sentinel overhearing, said angrily to the coachman, "*Il s'ied bien à un gueux comme toi d'être aristocrate \**."

A few days since I saw a man dressed in the uniform of a General Officer come up to a poor fellow, who, with a pike in his hand, stood sentinel at a gate, and, addressing him by the name of "*Citoyen Soldat*," asked him the way to a particular street.

The pike-men were formerly considered as of a rank inferior to the National Guards, who are armed with muskets: but of late they are put on a footing, and do duty together; but still it might have been expected, that this gentleman's rank in the army would have com-

\* It well becomes a beggar like you to give yourself the airs of an aristocrate.



manded the strongest marks of respect from a common soldier, if his laced coat failed to produce them in a poor fellow almost in rags.

"Tenez, mon camarade," said the pikeman: "you will first turn to the right, and then walk straight on until, &c."

The Officer having heard the directions returned thanks to the Citoyen Soldier, and, moving his hat, walked away.

November 23.

Some time since I was walking with a man, who has the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the National Guards:—seven or eight men belonging to his battalion came up to him with a complaint; they pretended that injustice had been done to their company, in the arrangements respecting the duty; and they also complained of some other grievances:—the person they had chosen to speak for them seemed to be of rather a fiery temper; and he stated the grievances with more heat and less ceremony than I had been accustomed to see soldiers use when addressing their officers.—The Lieutenant Colonel on his part heard the complaints with attention and coolness; only saying, from time to time, as the orator proceeded, "Tu as raison, tu as raison, mon ami"—and gave no other interruption or answer, till he had quite finished. The officer then began with the phrase he had already used so frequently, "Tu as raison, mon ami, cela est clair; but there is one point in which you are a little mistaken."

This one point turned out to be the whole affair in question. The officer proceeded to put the business in a very different light; sometimes

times addressing himself to the orator, and sometimes to others of the circle; and in a short time convinced the whole, that what they asked was unreasonable, and dismissed them satisfied, and repeating "*Le Colonel a raison.*"

When they were gone, he said to me smiling, "This is my constant method, when they come with an unreasonable request: I hear them with patience; and after I have acknowledged two or three times that they are in the right, they allow me quietly to convince them that they are in the wrong:—whereas, were I to tell them at once they were in the wrong, they would think me unjust; but not that they themselves were unreasonable."

"When their complaint is well founded," continued the officer, "and in my power to remedy, there is no need of reasoning; I get the grievance redressed as soon as possible, and am happy it is in my power."

"All this," said I, "will do very well in civil life; but I should hardly think it would answer in the military; where subordination and implicit obedience are so necessary."

To this the officer answered, "That men who clothe themselves and serve without pay, cannot be treated with the same severity as soldiers who are paid and clothed by the public: it is rather to be wondered at, that so many poor tradesmen and day-labourers all over France submit to lose the profit of their work for one day, and sometimes two, in a week, bear so much fatigue, and perform the military duty required of them, so cheerfully as they do. When those men are ordered to the frontiers, and obliged

to perform the duty of soldiers every day, they then receive pay, and are subjected to a severer discipline."

"I cannot help thinking," resumed I, "that a General, who commands soldiers who are taught to obey without thinking, has a great advantage over one whose army must be reasoned with. The duke of Brunswick has only to issue his orders, and he is as sure of being obeyed, as I am certain this watch will strike when I press the spring," continued I, making the watch, which I held in my hand, repeat the hour; "whereas I understand, that Dumourier is often obliged to convince his soldiers *qu'il a raison*, before they will execute his orders."

"The temper and national character of the soldiers must be considered by the General who commands them," resumed the officer again: "Frenchmen would be dispirited, rendered good for nothing, or would desert, if they were treated with as much severity as German and Russian soldiers. I am of opinion, that the introduction of the punishment of the cane (*coups des batons*) was one reason of the defection of the army at the beginning of the revolution. I know that many regiments were quite disgusted with that practice. The French and Germans are as different animals as greyhounds and fox-hounds; they accomplish the destruction of their enemy by different endowments, and require a very different treatment."

"I do not wish to depreciate the merit of Dumourier," continued the officer; "but I must observe, that the disadvantage you mention



mention might be compensated by that enthusiasm, which in the present emergency acts on the minds of French soldiers with an energy beyond the force of any mechanical spring. Besides, you must recollect, that it has always been the custom in France, to enlist soldiers for three or four years only; for which reason, great numbers of young tradesmen and labourers choose to go and serve during that time in the army; after which, they return to their trades and villages, where their adventures in the army are a source of conversation to themselves, and of admiration to their wives and children for the rest of their lives: and when the whole country is called forth as on the present occasion, there are among the recruits of every department a considerable number of old soldiers, who not only instruct the new men in the essential parts of the exercise, but also give them an example of regularity and obedience; so that the hasty levies with which Dumourier was reinforced at St. Menchould were not entirely raw recruits.

November 23.

In keeping this journal, my object was not to confine myself to the public events which take place in this country at this critical period, but to give also some idea of the effect which these events have on the manners and sentiments of the people, which I imagine is better done by relating facts and incidents, than by general description. With this view, I mention the following which occurred to an English gentleman and lady of my acquaintance: Hearing there was to be a debate on an important subject in the Convention, the gentleman hired two persons to go early and keep places for them in the front of the gallery opposite to the President.

The

The gentleman and lady went themselves an hour after. A sentinel who was placed within the gallery, told them there was no room. They said that two persons in the front would yield them their places, and the two persons rose accordingly and offered to withdraw; but the people in the gallery objected to the new comers taking their places, which, they said, naturally belonged to those who sat nearest. The Englishman appealed to the sentinel: "Ma foi, citoyen," said the sentinel, "l'affaire est un peu épineuse; you must let it be judged by the company."

This is the usual way on all disputes in the galleries; a jury is immediately formed of the people nearest, who decide by the plurality of votes, and their verdict is always obeyed.

The Englishman then asked of the company, whether the two persons whom he had sent to the gallery had not a right to keep their places. It was unanimously agreed they had; but that, if they retired, the two who sat nearest them had a right to the places they left; and so every couple might advance in succession, but those who came last must be content with the worst places, till new vacancies occurred. "But" resumed the Englishman, "I have paid those two men for keeping places for this lady and me, and that we should have them is founded on justice."—"Mais non pas sur l'égalité," said one of the jury; to which opinion all the rest adhered.

"You see, citizen," resumed the sentinel, "that the cause is given against you, and there is no more to be said."

It is not surprising that this idea of equality is very favourably received by the lowest order of society, particularly according to the sense in which many of them understand it; and I make no manner of doubt but that there are men of acknowledged dulness, and women decidedly ugly, who would rejoice in a decree for an equality of genius and beauty, and who, to that variety in which nature delights would prefer an insipid monotony of talents and looks all over the world.—But until Nature shall issue such a decree, the decrees of all the National Conventions on earth to establish égalité will be vain. Were equality decreed by the universal consent of mankind this year, there would be inequality of riches and importance all over the earth the next.

November 24.

As I walked to-day on the terrace of the Feuillans, which is contiguous to the hall of the National Assembly, I observed a young man standing on a chair: at his side, there was a pike thrust into the ground, on the upper end of which a small board was fixed with this inscription: *L'Apôtre de la Liberté*. A crowd surrounded him, to whom he harangued in praise of the glorious revolution of the 10th of August, and of the patriots to whom France owed its liberty, which he asserted to be those determined men who were on the preceding night appointed to be of the General Council of the Commune, and not the Brissots, Vergniauds, Gaudets, Buzots, and still less Louvet the calumniator of Robespierre. He said that all these men, with Roland at their head, were doing every thing they could to save the life of Louis Capet, the various instances of whose perjury he attempted to prove, as well as his ingratitude



ingratitude to the Nation, which had behaved so generously to him. "But," he added, "Lewis the traitor has now filled up the measure of his treachery so high, that even his friends in the assembly could not deny his guilt, though they were striving with all their cunning to save his life."

This fellow was evidently hired to animate the populace against Roland and his friends, and make them consider every attempt to postpone or evade the condemnation of the King as a proof of their aristocracy and treachery. No sovereign that ever reigned has had more pains taken to mislead and impose upon his judgment, than the *Peuple Souverain* who at present governs France; and being naturally of a thoughtless and giddy character, it is no wonder he falls into the snares which are so artfully laid for him.

November 25.

That spirit of hatred and accusation which prevails in the Convention, has extended to the Generals of the armies, and seems to augment daily in this place.

Some weeks ago, Custine, in a letter which was read in the assembly, accused Kellermann of negligence, or something worse, in having permitted the Prussians and Hessians to escape out of France, and reach Coblenz.

He asserted, that if Kellermann had passed the Moselle and the Sarre, he would have made himself master of Treves and Coblenz with little difficulty; and he referred to statements which he sent at the same time, to prove the truth of his accusation.

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The commissioners who had been in Kellermann's army, and had seen the correspondence between him and Custine, declared that it would have been highly imprudent in the former, to have joined Custine with his cavalry at Treves at the time it was demanded.

When Custine sent his letter to the Convention, he wrote at the same time to Kellermann informing him of it. Kellermann also wrote to the Convention, and has this expression in his letter: *Les inculpations de Custine n'ont pu être écrites que dans le vin\**.

On this occasion, it happens fortunately that those Generals are particularly attached to neither party. If they were, their military skill, as well as their patriotism, would be estimated, as is the case in other countries, according to the political party to which they belonged; and he, who was esteemed a good General by one set of men because he was of their party, would have been called a bad one by another for that very reason.

But as in this instance the spirit of party has not interfered, both are spoken of as good officers and faithful servants to the public, and their misunderstanding is universally regretted.

A member in the Convention having spoken highly of the recent successes of Custine, another immediately observed, that if the successes of Custine, which were immediately before their eyes, had enlarged their external dominions, Kellermann's victory on the 20th of September had saved the interior parts of France.— This was equally applauded by both parties.

\* The accusations of Custine must have been made in his cups.

In consequence of Cuffine's accusation, Kellermann was called from his army, and has been for some time in Paris. He is by birth a German, and served for many years in the German armies. I have been several times in company with him. Once, when several Deputies were present, he could not abstain from speaking with indignation of the accusation of Cuffine, which gave him no otherwise uneasiness, he said, than as it obliged him to remain inactive at Paris, while the brave army he had commanded were in the field. Kellermann is a man of plain manners conveying the idea of sincerity, and whose talents are calculated to render him much more brilliant at the head of an army than in conversation. There is no doubt of his being soon restored to his command.

November 26.

In a company of bourgeois, a person was lamenting yesterday the fatal effects which might happen from discord; but added, he understood that the two political parties were on the point of uniting.

On which a chemist who was present, shaking his head, said, he questioned it very much: "because," continued he, "since fear did not compress them together when the Prussian and Austrian armies were advancing into the heart of the country, there is little probability that such heterogeneous substances will unite by elective attraction."

However pedantic the chemist's language may be thought, his argument seems just.—Every day, I am more and more confirmed in the opinion, that the animosity between the two parties will never end but in the destruction  
of



of one of them; and some people think that Roland and his party would have been overset before now, had it not been for the fédérés, particularly those from Marseilles, who are now at Paris.

The effect which their name has on the minds of the suburb sans-culottes is wonderful—this greatly vexes Marat. In one of his Journals, he insinuates that Dumourier exposed the Parisian battalions at the battle of Jemmappe, more than the rest of the army, on purpose to have them destroyed; and that this was done in compliance with the directions he received from Roland, Brissot, and that party. His words are: “Pour assurer le succès de leurs projets ambitieux, ces tyrans ont enlevé notre bouillante jeunesse, toujours la première à marcher contre les suppôts du despotisme, et à former une barrière autour des défenseurs du peuple.” He afterwards mentions what this bouillante jeunesse consisted of, “nos forts-de-la-halle, continues he, “nos charbonniers, nos cochers de place.”

Those who have seen Marat, and are acquainted with the manners and sentiments of Chabot, Legendre, Merlin de Thionville, and some other of his coadjutors, will not be surprised at their having some partiality to hackney coachmen, colliers, and whatever is rough and vulgar.

A writer of great ingenuity and eminence regrets, that “we shall never more behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in

servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom ;” and adds, that with these are also fled “ that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage while it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which *vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness.*”

Notwithstanding the splendid elegance and force of this passage, the concluding sentiment has been censured. No man however can with less reason than the honourable gentleman above alluded to, be supposed to mean this as a palliative for vice of any kind ; and it is most certain, that in general society, politeness is a convenient substitute for benevolence, and that when rude and polished men are equally vicious, the latter are always less disgusting and sometimes less mischievous than the former. A savage, when he hates a man, or has a violent desire for a woman, will murder the one and ravish the other ; in polished society, a man with the same passions will do neither. It is equally true, that a great deal of the grossness of vice may be removed, without a grain of its intrinsic wickedness being removed with it. The courtier, who, in elegant terms, professes friendship to the man he is endeavouring to supplant, and politely caresses those he means to betray, exhibits as much genuine vice as the most vulgar footpad that ever knocked a man down, or informed against his accomplice.

All the refinement of Courts cannot alter the nature of falsehood, ingratitude, or treachery ; nor can all the perfumes of the East sweeten the corruption of vice. On the whole, though polish

lish in some cases renders vice less mischievous than it would otherwise be, in other cases it may make it more dangerous by being more attractive; like furbishing the knife of a child, which does least harm when rusty, and is most dangerous when brilliant.

The Deputies above mentioned, and others of the Convention, cannot have this said to their charge; their nauseous manners and debasing sentiments exhibit vice in its native deformity.

November 27.

Assertions frequently and boldly repeated seldom fail to make an impression on the minds of the populace, and at length to gain belief, in spite of the most clear and rational evidence of their falsehood.

Marat has been exciting the people to mutual rancour, to pillaging, and cutting each other's throats, since the beginning of the Revolution; but he assures them in all his speeches, and he tells them every morning in his Journal, that he is *l'Ami du Peuple*!—and the populace believe them.

It is universally known, that the Girondists exculpate the citizens of Paris from the horrid crimes of September; whereas Robespierre, St. André, Tallien, Chabot, Bazire, and all that party, assert, that the massacres were committed by the people. But as, at the same time, St. André always calls them “*le bon peuple*,” Marat says “*he carries them in his heart*,” and Robespierre declares “*he would willingly sacrifice his life for them*,” the populace consider this



faction as their friends, and look on Roland and the Girondists as their calumniators.

It is also notorious, that Roland, Claviere, Genfonnet, Guadet, and the other leaders of that party are republicans; that they made open attempts to establish that form of government, at the time the King was brought back from Varennes; that Robespierre, Danton, and many of their friends opposed it, and declaimed in the Jacobin Society against it, and in favour of monarchy. Yet, as the favouring of monarchy is now considered as the greatest of all crimes, those very persons accuse the Girondists of that crime, and of being determined enemies to the Republic; which assertions, by dint of repetition, begin to be believed; and Roland, Brissot, Guadet, and the whole of that party, are of course becoming daily less popular.

In a small company, a few days since, a person remarked, "That the great fondness which Robespierre, Danton, and some others, shewed for a republican form of government, was of a very late date; and that although they displayed such deadly rancour against Lewis XVI. by whom they thought they never could be forgiven, yet they had no hatred to monarchy, provided they could have a King of their own choosing."

Another of the company observed, "That he could not believe that so fierce and insolent a spirit as Danton could bear to see any King established in France."

"I am

"I am convinced, however," said a third, "that he would like well enough to see M. Egalité on the throne."

"Remember," resumed the first speaker, "what Benferade said, when he was told that a certain lady was fond of the Duc de la Vantadour, who was the ugliest man in France: "Parbleu, si elle aime celui-la, elle en aimera bien un autre\*."

November 28.

It is not surprising, that a people of great sensibility, and naturally versatile, should fly from one extreme to another; yet one would hardly have expected that Republican manners would have been much to the taste of the French nation.

There is however in Paris at present, a great affectation of that plainness in dress, and simplicity of expression, which are supposed to belong to Republicans. I have sometimes been in company, since I came last to Paris, with a young man, of one of the first families in France, who, contrary to the wishes and example of his relations, is a violent democrat. He came into the box where I was last night at the playhouse; he was in boots, his hair cropt, and his whole dress slovenly: on this being taken notice of, he said, "That he was accustoming himself to appear like a Republican." It reminded me of a lady, who being reproached with having a very ugly man for her lover, said, *C'est pour m'accoutumer à la laideur de mon mari.* †

R 3

They

\* If she can love him, she will soon love another.

† It is to accustom myself to the ugliness of my husband.

They begin to *tutoyer* each other, that is, to use in conversation the singular propoun *tu*, instead of the plural *vous*, as the Romans did and the Quakers do. They have substituted the name *Citoyen*, for *Monsieur*, when talking to or of any person; but more frequently, particularly in the National Assembly, they pronounce the name simply, as Buzot, Guadet, Vergniaud. It has even been proposed in some of the Journals, that the custom of taking off the hat and bowing the head should be abolished, as remains of the ancient slavery, and unbecoming the independent spirit of free men; instead of which they are desired, on meeting their acquaintance in the street, to place their right hand to their heart as a sign of cordiality.

All this appears a little premature. If the Republic is permanent, new manners will gradually be introduced, and a new national character will of course be formed; but so very sudden a change of decoration is too much in the style of a harlequin entertainment to be durable. The example of the Greeks and Romans is, in my opinion, too often held out; and when I hear the names of Lycurgus and Brutus and Cato repeated in the Convention, it raises recollections which are not favourable to those legislators and patriots to whose debates I am listening. One of the best observations I have seen in any of Marat's Journals, is the following: After sneering at some of the Deputies, on account of their high pretensions to patriotism, he adds, "These are the men, who are on every slight occasion telling us, 'Souvenez-vous que nous sommes Républicains, que tout ce qui n'est pas grand et sublime n'est pas digne de nous.'—Messieurs, soyez d'abord honnêtes



nêtes gens: après cela, vous ferez des Camille, des Regulus, des Catons, si vous le pouvez \*."

David, the celebrated painter, who is a Member of the Convention and a zealous Republican, has sketched some designs for a Republican dress, which he seems eager to have introduced; it resembles the old Spanish dress, consisting of a jacket with tight trowsers, a coat without sleeves above the jacket, a short cloak, which may either hang loose from the left shoulder or be drawn over both: a belt to which two pistols and a sword may be attached, a round hat and a feather, are also part of this dress, according to the sketches of David; in which full as much attention is paid to picturesque effect as to conveniency. This artist is using all his influence, I understand, to engage his friends to adopt it, and is in hopes that the Municipality of Paris will appear in it at a public feast, or rejoicing, which is expected soon. I said to the person who gave me this account, "that I was surprised that David, who was so great a patriot, should be so anxious about an object of this kind."

He answered, "that David had been a painter before he was a patriot."

Part of this dress is already adopted by many; but I have only seen one person in public completely equipped with the whole; and as he had managed it, his appearance was rather fantastical. His jacket and trowsers were blue; his coat, through which the blue sleeves appeared, was

*Remember that we are Republicans, that nothing but what is great and sublime is worthy of us.—Pray, gentlemen, try in the first place to be honest men: after that, each of you may become a Camillus, a Regulus, or a Cato, if he can.*

was white with a scarlet cape; his round hat was amply supplied with plumage; he had two pistols stuck in his belt, and a very formidable sabre at his side: he is a tall man, and of a very warlike figure; I took him for a Major of Dragoons at least: on enquiry I find he is a miniature painter.

*November 29.*

General Kellermann is restored to his command, and is to set out for the army in a few days: having heard that he was to be at the Jacobin Society last night, I went there.

The General made a short speech, importing that he had come to take his leave of the friends of the people previous to his leaving Paris. The General is no orator, nor did he attempt eloquence; what he said, however, was applauded. One of his friends rose, and demanded he might be received as a member into the Society: this proposal occasioned a murmur, which surprised me after the applause with which the general himself had been heard.

I soon understood from those around me, that this manner of proposing a member was contrary to the rules of the Society; that if he wished to be admitted, he ought to have made the proposal himself, since he was present, and not by deputation. One of the members whispered the General, who immediately rose, and asked the favour of being received as a member of the Society.

Still there was a demur and whispering through the hall. I heard some who were near me say, that the usual formalities ought not to be dispensed with, it was a bad precedent; others might

might expect to be admitted in the same manner : it was unworthy of Republicans to pay any regard to his rank in the army, &c. &c.

The General rose again, and declared, that he had not been acquainted with the particular forms of the Jacobin Society of Paris, otherwise he would have strictly observed them in the application he made ; that perhaps it was too late, as he should be obliged so soon to set out for the army ; that he had imagined they might be the less necessary in this case, as he was already a member of the Jacobin Society of Strasbourg, and had been sometime honoured with the name of the Jacobin General. Cicero could have said nothing more than this. Kellermann was declared a member amidst the applause of all present.

The president gave him the kiss of fraternity, and made him a short address, the tendency of which was to wish him victory, and that he might spread the sentiments of liberty and equality among the superstitious slaves of Italy, and inspire the subjects of the Pope with the sentiments of the Roman Republic : he finished by exhorting the General not to allow his mind to be elated by the victories which he had already obtained, or those which the army of the Republic might hereafter obtain under his command ; but remember, that after them all, he must return to the condition of a private citizen, and be respected, not according to the rank he was raised to in the army, but according to his virtues, and the service he had rendered to his country.

Kellermann heard this admonition with the grave and respectful air of a timid student receiving instructions from a Professor.

After



After this, a member of the Society, whose face I had never seen, and whose name I do not remember, ascended the tribune, and made a tedious and disgusting harangue, to prove the right the Nation has to try and condemn the King; representing all the arguments in favour of his inviolability as sophistical, and hinting that those who used them were traitors to their country: the orator added every thing that malice could suggest, to inflame the audience against the unfortunate Monarch. Among other assertions, unsupported by probability or proof, he said, "that the King had gone from the Tuilleries to the Assembly Hall partly from fear of being wounded or killed during the attack which he had ordered to be made on the people, and partly with a view to point out the members he wished to be murdered by the Swiss, and by the Chevaliers du Poignard, whom he expected every moment to see enter the hall, reeking from the slaughter of the citizens. He represented the Queen in the same light; and concluded, that both merited an immediate and ignominious death:" at which some women in the galleries, who had shewn much satisfaction during the discourse, exclaimed, "*Oui, oui.*"

*November 30.*

When I returned from the Jacobin last night, I expressed to the person who had procured me admission, my surprise at the hesitation in receiving Kellermann as a member. "I should have thought," said I, "that they would have been eager to admit a victorious General."

"In my opinion they were in the right to hesitate," he replied: "no set of men are so apt to over-value themselves as those who are at the head of armies:—they talk of their victories as if they had been gained, like that of Sampson,  
by

by the strength of one arm ; whereas nothing is more certain, than that victories are often obtained by the valour of the troops, in spite of the blunders of their Generals. Kdllermann." continued he, " did his duty at Valmy ; so did every soldier of his army, in which it cannot be doubted there are at least an hundred who are as fit to command as he, and some of them, in all probability, more so :—and are those gentry to expect to be admitted into a society like that of the Jacobins, without observing the same forms with others ? No, no, such distinctions are dangerous to liberty, particularly when bestowed on the General of an army. Who was it," continued he, " that overturned the Roman Republic ? Julius Cæsar, the General of an army. Who dismissed the Parliament of England, and established military despotism ? Oliver Cromwell, the General of an army. Who restored royalty in the same country ? Monk, the General of an army."

" Do you imagine," said I, " that little mortifications of this kind will prevent similar events from happening in France ? All those who are at the head of your armies may not have the moderation of Washington."

" We do not rely on the moderation of our Generals," answered he, " but on the spirit of freedom which pervades the French armies, and will prove a check to the ambitious or treacherous views of their leaders. This spirit did not exist in any of the armies above mentioned. The army of Cæsar looked up to him, and to him, only ; at his order they marched with as little reluctance against the Senate, as against the Gauls : the armies of Cromwell and Monk were so desiruments

ceived and modelled, as to become the blind in- of France are more enlightened, and are organised in a different manner; they will follow their leaders against the foreign enemy, but not against their country. No General was ever more popular than La Fayette: yet he would have been arrested in the midst of his own army, if he had not fled; and if the Convention thought proper, they could arrest Dumourier to-morrow in the middle of his, notwithstanding all his victories. But civil honours and distinctions would render the Generals of armies more dangerous; and therefore, in civil society, they should be made to feel themselves on a level with their fellow citizens, and obliged to submit to the same regulations in public societies with the other members. Every kind of particular distinction shewn to professional rank, or to birth, is unworthy of the independent spirit of Republicans; "and you might observe," continued he, "that when Citoyen Egalité entered and seated himself by you, his appearance produced no sensation—no notice was taken of him."

"Forgive me," answered I, "his entrance did produce a sensation, and if I had not before been acquainted with his person, I should have guessed it to be him, by an affectation which I remarked in those around, not to take notice of him."

*December 1.*

Few things shock a stranger more on his first arrival in this country, than the unrelenting and indelicate stile in which the Queen is spoken of; and nothing seems more contrary to what was formerly considered as characteristic of the French nation. They have been often accused  
of



paying so great an attention to politeness, that they neglected morality; they are now in danger of neglecting the first, without paying more attention to the second, and of losing every attribute of courtiers, except that of abandoning the unfortunate.

The report in the name of the Committee of Legislation, on the mode of conducting the King's trial, was read lately in the Convention by Mailhe:—after which, he said, “We have said nothing of Marie Antoinette; what right has she to have her case confounded with that of Louis VI.? The lives of those women who have had the titles of Queen of France were never considered as more inviolable or more sacred than those of other rebels or conspirators; therefore, in case you think proper to bring a decree of accusation against her, she will of course be tried by some of the ordinary criminal courts.”

As the mode of trying the King was the sole object submitted to the consideration of the Committee, I was reflecting what could be this man's motive for departing from the subject of the report, on purpose to make this brutal attack on the Queen; but when he had finished, and I heard the galleries resound with applause, I was no longer at a loss. As soon as the noise was over, I heard one of the Deputies say to his neighbour, “I should not be surprised, that she were condemned to occupy Madame de la Motte's vacant place at the Bicêtre\*”

\* The person's name who made this harsh and indecent speech, is in my original Journal: I omit it here, because I afterwards knew of a very essential service which he rendered to an unfortunate Emigrant.

But what surprised me more than any thing I have had occasion to observe on this subject, was a conversation I had at a coffee-house, in the Palais Royal, with a person I have sometimes accidentally met there: he is a man of a grave and respectable appearance, of about forty-five or fifty years of age, well dressed, but rather in the style that was fashionable before, than since the Revolution. He is not a member of the Convention, but I had seen him there often, and had sometimes conversed with him: I took him for a man of moderation and humanity, he now convinced me how much I had been mistaken.—I asked him a question concerning the intended trial of the King—there was nothing remarkable in his answer. I then said something expressive of sympathy for the deplorable situation of the Queen: his eyes kindled, and his countenance altered at the name; the mention of the Queen affected him as that of chivalry did Don Quixote; his discourse, from that of a man of a man of sense, became the ravings of a madman; he poured out the most illiberal torrent of rancorous abuse against her that I ever heard; and concluded the whole with this horrid sentiment, which I translate literally: “I hope *that* woman will be obliged to drink the full draught of misery which is poured out for her, to the very dregs.”

The rancour which in this country is manifested against the Queen, is more violent and more unaccountable than even that which appeared in Scotland against Mary Queen of Scots, though many circumstances concurred to create a jealousy in the minds of the people of Scotland, against their Sovereign, which do not exist in the other instance.

stance. Endowed with unrivalled beauty, and adorned with every elegant accomplishment, Mary had been accustomed to the splendor of a licentious Court, over which presided an unprincipled woman, of whose politics, gallantry was a principal engine. She returned to her native country at a time when it was so overshadowed with fanatical gloom, that the inhabitants considered gaiety as sinful and pleasure as a profanation.

Mary was of a religion which the Scottish nation held in abhorrence: how could a people endure the varied ornamented robes of Popery, in whose eyes the decent surplice of the Church of England was detested, as a rag of the strumpet of Babylon, whose worship they suspected their young Queen wished to introduce into her native country?

The manners of the Court of Vienna were very different from those of the Louvre; and the character of Maria Theresa was the reverse of that of Catherine of Medicis.—That their Queen was beautiful, and elegant, and gay; that she loved splendor, and was a Roman Catholic, were circumstances of a nature to gain, and not to alienate a people like the French.

Besides, the crimes imputed to Mary, whether true or false, were of a much deeper dye than any which calumny has ever laid to the charge of the Queen of France. And although the fate of the former was most affecting and deplorable, yet the causes which brought it on are not uncommon. Mary fell the victim of hypocrisy, female jealousy, and political fear; whereas the sufferings of the Queen of France are as contrary to policy as to



humanity, and proceed from a people, who, before they could behave to her in the barbarous manner they did, must have renounced every amiable quality imputed to them by their friends, and adopted the disposition of which they are accused by their bitterest enemies.

December 2.

The most deplorable circumstance which distinguishes this Revolution from others, is, that when its original object was in a great measure obtained, order, tranquillity, and submission to law did not return. One revolution has been grafted on another; new alterations have been imagined, and executed by men more violent, and means more bloody, than the former; the populace, stimulated by unprincipled leaders, have committed all the excesses of revolted negroes, or of slaves who have burst from the galleys. At this moment, four years after the first insurrection, instead of the blessings of freedom, the unhappy people of France are, under the name of a Republic, suffering more intolerable oppression than they ever did under the most despotic of their monarchs; and are at the same time exposed to the attacks of external enemies, whose number is daily increasing by the imprudent conduct of their new governors.

Of all the evils which have attended this extraordinary Revolution, the most important to mankind in general, perhaps, is, that it weakens the indignation which every liberal mind naturally feels for despotism, and inclines them to submit to the awful tranquillity of methodised oppression, rather than risk such scenes of anarchy and carnage as have been of late exhibited in this country.

Yet

Ye it ought to be remember'd, that despotism though less savage, is more hopeless than anarchy, which contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction; whereas the pillars of despotism, being artfully arranged for the support of each other, as well as that of the general fabric, may stand for ages. Were it not for this circumstance, and if there were no choice but to live under arbitrary government, or to be exposed to the unrestrained ravages and cruelties of a frantic populace, perhaps the former would be preferred as the lesser evil.—For, in spite of the vitiating tendency of unlimited power on the human heart, history affords instances of perhaps one in a dozen of Princes whose power was unlimited, and who yet preserved the virtues of humanity; whereas a mob is always furious, brutal, and cruel.

But Heaven has not confined mankind to this miserable alternative; nor is every nation possessed of the impetuosity of the French, which, at the first sensation of freedom, has hurried them headlong into excesses without any rational object—like the lunatic, who having spoken the language of moderation, and announced a peaceable disposition, makes use of his liberty in attacking every body around, and fighting furiously, till, his strength being exhausted, he is again brought back to his fetters.

The emigration of the Noblesse was most unfortunate; I speak of that which took place at the beginning of the Révolution, when it was still safe for them to remain in their country; and not of those which have happened since, and were absolutely necessary for self-preservation: but it is more than probable that the necessity for these last

emigrations arose from the unnecessary one which took place at first. Had all the Noblesse remained, it cannot be imagined but that a body of men of the most extensive property must, in spite of the torrent of the times, have retained great influence, and prevented many of the disorders which have distracted this unhappy country. Numbers of the Noblesse would have been elected into the Assemblies, and thus have precluded some deputies who perhaps have been the cause of great mischief: by accommodating themselves in some degree to the prevailing opinions, they would have gradually rendered them more mild and conciliatory, and prevented that degree of acrimonious prejudice which at present prevails against the whole body of Nobility. The earliest emigrants being considered as the instigators of a combination of foreign powers against France, as determined to re-establish the ancient government, and as filled with the most implacable desire of vengeance; the odium against them became stronger every day, and was by the populace, ever incapable of discrimination, extended to the whole class. The Noblesse who remained in the country were daily provoked by new injuries from their countrymen within, and piqued by letters from those without, accusing them of meanness in submitting to the new order of things, and of cowardice for not joining the armies of the Princes. It is not be wondered at, therefore, that many of them left their country. After the tenth of August, it became dangerous for any of them who had the themselves the friends of limited Monarchy, and eager to support the Constitution, to remain in France.

As



As for that party which is known by the name of Girondiste, and to which Roland, Brissot, Buzot, Condorcet, and many other deputies who do not come from the Gironde, belong, they are certainly free from the dreadful guilt of the massacre of the prisoners; I am persuaded also, that they not only wished to save the life of the King, but that some of them have risked their own lives in the various measures they have used for that purpose: yet being acquitted of these, other charges of a highly criminal nature remain against them.

After the Constitution was accepted by the King, and after they themselves had sworn to maintain it, they continued their efforts to overthrow it.

Judging of the King from what they thought must be his secret wish, and what, it is probable, they were conscious would have been their own conduct in his situation, they could never believe that he would remain faithful to the Constitution; they were convinced that in his heart he abhorred it, and would seize the first opportunity to overturn it, to punish all who had any hand in establishing it, and to restore the ancient system with renewed force and augmented terror. They were convinced that the freedom of France could have no sure foundation but in a Republic; and on this conviction, they scrupled not to use the most perfidious means to introduce that form of government.

They endeavoured to vilify the character of the King, with a view to render royalty odious and contemptible; they gave circulation to innumera-  
ble

ble stories, to the prejudice of others of the Royal family, which they either knew to be false, or had no proof of their being true.

On mere conjecture, they accused the King and Queen of undermining the Constitution to restore despotism, while they were conscious of undermining it themselves, on purpose to rear a Republic. They involved their country in a war with the Emperor, on pretexts which they knew to be groundless, and solely in the expectation that it would increase that jealousy of the King which already existed, and give rise to incidents and circumstances on which plausible accusations against him and his Ministers might be founded.

By those means, they rendered a benevolent Prince, who was anxious for the welfare of his subjects, unpopular; by those means they produced the insurrection of the 20th of June, and prepared the minds of the populace for that of the 10th of August; and by making it be believed, that a Prince of such a quiet, unambitious character as Lewis XVI. could not remain satisfied with the power granted by the Constitution, but was secretly conspiring to restore despotism, conveying the idea, that every one who could be placed on the throne would do the same, the French nation were tricked into a republican form of government, when there is great reason to believe that a vast majority would have preferred a limited monarchy.

December 3.

That fickleness of disposition which has been considered as the general characteristic of the populace

place of every nation, certainly belongs in a stronger degree, and more peculiarly to the French than to any other, and has appeared more perspicuously since the present Revolution than it perhaps ever did before.

Nothing could surpass the popularity of Necker at one period. Although a stranger and a protestant, the whole nation, fixing their eyes on him, seemed to exclaim, *Tu maximus ille es*—and to consider him as the only person who could save the country from ruin, and restore their affairs. A short time after he had been recalled by the united voice of the people, he began to be neglected, and is now almost forgotten.

~~La Fayette, who was adored, is now de-~~  
~~tested.~~

The popularity of Pétion, which was in its meridian when we arrived in France, begins already to decline.

Orleans and others have had their moments of popularity, which, as a genuine poet beautifully observes of pleasures, has had the fate

Of snow that falls upon the river,  
A moment white—then melts for ever;  
Or like the borealis race,  
That flit ere you can point their place;  
Or like the rainbow's lovely form,  
Evanishing amid the storm\*.

The same fickleness which the French have displayed in a manner so striking, with respect to their favourites, at various periods of the Revolution, is also conspicuous with regard to their taste

\* Burns's Poems.



in government, When the attempt was made to introduce a republican form, after the King's return from Varennes, it was rejected.

In the month of July last, a member of the National Assembly declared, that he was as much against a Republic being established in France, as a despotic Monarchy; and he invited all who were of the same opinion, to avow it by standing up.

All the members instantly stood up.

This happened in the month of July, and the National Convention decreed the abolition of monarchy on the 21st of September.

I stated this to a Member of the Convention yesterday, as a proof that his countrymen were free from that stubbornness of which some people are accused.

He answered, "that although he did not believe the change of opinion to be so universal as some wished to have it thought, yet he *did* believe that there was a considerable change since the 10th of August, which he imagined was in a great measure owing to two causes: First, the idea that prevailed, that the papers found in the King's cabinet on that day, and those lately discovered in the iron chest, in the wall of the palace, formed a convincing proof of the King's having conspired with the foreign enemy to betray the country. "This," he said, "had raised a general indignation, and had reconciled many minds to the idea of a Republic, who formerly thought that form of government very unsuitable to France.

"A second

“A second cause which contributed to the same effect,” he said, “was the prodigious success of their arms; which was in a great measure imputed to the energy which the idea of being republicans and freemen impressed on the minds of the French.”

I observed, “that if this last consideration had any weight, it must entirely proceed from the inspiring sentiment of freedom, and the French might have been free without being Republicans.”

The person with whom I was conversing, being himself a Republican, shook his head at this observation;—on which I added, “It is equally certain, that they may be Republicans without being free\*.”

Accounts of towns taken, battles gained, and success of every kind, are announced in the Convention almost daily. Four standards taken from the Piedmontese were presented to them yesterday, by an aid-de-camp of General Anselme, sent from his army for that purpose; the colours were unrolled and displayed in the middle of the hall; the applause and shouting were of course loud and persevering.—In his address to the Assembly, the officer made use of some expressions which indicate pretty justly to what a height national vanity is mounted in this country: I translate them literally.

“Legislators, our enemies had the audacity to appear: Anselme shewed himself, and they fled as usual. Our army ardently desires to enter into the heart of Italy. Naples insults you, Rome excommunicates you, the King of Sardinia does not

\* This person, who was attached to the party of Roland and Brissot, has had severe experience of the truth of this remark.

acknowledge

acknowledge you his conquerors: only give us the order, and all the crowns of the South shall be brought to your bar. Our soldiers declare, that each of them has a heart to bless your decrees, and two hands to execute them. The Romans in their degeneracy called out for bread, and public spectacles; the French, being regenerated, demand bread and the prosperity of the Republic."

The Imperial Eagle, which formerly stood on the top of the steeple of Namur, has been removed to Paris: it was placed on an open carriage, and drawn in the most ostentatious manner from the gate of the city to the door of the Assembly hall, escorted by a party of dragoons, one of whom rode immediately before the carriage, holding a chain, the other end of which was around the Eagle's neck.

I was at the Convention when the commander of the party came to the bar, and addressing the Assembly said: "Legislateurs, Monseigneur l'Aigle Imperiale attend vos ordres."

One deputy moved, that it should be placed with the claws and beak cut off, on the top of the obelisk now erecting in the Place de Victoire. Merlin of Thionville proposed that it should rather be hung by the legs from the same monument. Another desired that the Eagle should be permitted to stand in his usual posture, but with the cap of Liberty on his head.

These witticisms, such as they are, afforded great entertainment.

The prodigious torrent of success which has flowed on the Republic of late, might have intoxicated



toxicated a nation of soberer brains than the French. Had this produced no other effects than huzzas and processions in the streets, allusions to their victories, and self-praise in songs and declamations at the theatres, or the rhodomontades of a few orators in the Convention, there would have been no great harm ; but most unfortunately the intoxication has affected the judgment of a majority of the deputies, as evidently appears by the decision of the Executive Council of the 16th of November, sent to the French Generals commanding the expedition to Brabant, to use every measure in their power to open the navigation of the Scheldt ; and by the inconsiderate and rash decree of the 19th of November, by which the Convention declares, “ au nom de la Nation Françoise, qu'elle accordera fraternité et secours à tous les peuples qui voudront recouvrir leur liberté\* ;” and likewise by charging the Executive Power to give the commanders of the French armies orders to protect the citizens of every country who may be disturbed or vexed for the cause of liberty.

Which is in effect telling the inhabitants of every country that whenever they choose to rise in insurrection against their government, they will be assisted by the French.

So far from adhering to their former professions of a love of peace with all their neighbours, it is proclaiming a challenge to all Europe, and laying the foundation of everlasting war ; for what coun-

\* In the name of the French nation that they will assist the people of every country who wish to recover their liberty.

try exists, or ever did exist, in which part of the inhabitants did not think that they laboured under inconveniencies, which they might call vexations or infringements of their liberty? This decree therefore announces to all the people of Europe, that as often as any part of them chooses to rebel against their government, it will be supported by France. By a decree of the 27th of November, Savoy is declared an eighty-fourth department, under the name of the department of Mont Blanc; which, contrary to their former declarations, renouncing every idea of conquest, is to all intents and purposes making a conquest, and evincing as great an ambition for extent of dominion as Lewis XIV. or any French monarch ever displayed; and of course the Republic will rouse the jealousy of Europe as much as he did.

December 4.

A Committee had been appointed to examine certain papers, lately discovered in an iron chest, concealed in a cavity of the wall of the palace.

As a report was this day to be made to the Convention concerning those papers, we went to the Assembly to hear it, although we had previously determined to leave Paris early in the morning.

Some very important discoveries were expected from those papers. When Rhul, of Strasburgh, who was President of the Committee, ascended the tribune to make the report, a most profound and awful silence took place; it was understood, that there were a number of letters to the King, and his Ministers, among those papers. Every Member of the Convention must therefore have

have been in a state of anxiety, either on his own account or on account of some of his friends: an imprudent expression in a letter to a Minister might, in the present state of men's minds, expose the writer to great danger. The papers however proved to be of very little importance. Barrere, who at present is President of the Convention, is mentioned in some of these papers; so are Dinnourier, Claviere, Kerfaint, all as having had some connection or intercourse with the Court, but not in a way that can be considered as criminal.—But although no suspicion of treason could be inferred from them, one particular letter does afford one of the strongest proofs of self-sufficiency and presumption that has been recorded in history or fable since the days of Phaeton. It is from Rouyer, a member of the Convention, who had also been of the former Assembly.

The man had frequently drawn my attention before; he is remarkably noisy and bustling; but as his importance seemed to be founded on his own single opinion, and what he said, although pronounced with great force, had little weight, I had never enquired his name.

The letter is dated in March, and is addressed to the King himself.

The following are extracts from it:

“Profondement occupé des maux qui déchirent ma patrie, j’ai dû compter aussi ses innombrables ressources; j’ai sondé ses blessures et calculé ses forces; j’ai tout comparé, tout approfondi,



est tout prévu.\*" He then declares, that he has a secret which will within two months restore the health of the empire, "cicatriser ses plaies, dissiper ses alarmes, annihiler ses périls, rendre à la France le repos qui la suit, la dignité qui lui convient, et au trône l'amour qui l'affermira avec l'éclat qui le décore †." He at last reveals his secret, which is, only that the King would place the whole power of the State in his hands; and he continues, "Sire, je le répète encore à votre Majesté, je m'engage à rétablir dans deux mois la paix au dedans, la considération au dehors, la félicité publique et l'autorité royale———J'irai vous révéler ce que vos Ministres vous cachent, ou vous apprendre ce qu'ils ignorent———Pour moi, Sire, je connois si bien nos forces et nos moyens, qu'en jetant les yeux sur les ennemis qui nous menacent, j'ai peine à me défendre d'un sentiment de pitié———J'ai porté mes regards sur toutes les Cours de l'Europe, et je suis bien sûr de les forcer à la paix———Je jouirai, dans le silence, du fruit de mes conseils——Heureux du bonheur de tous, je dirigerai vers vous seul la reconnaissance publique ‡."

This  
\* —Deeply concerned for the misfortunes of my country, I have also reflected on her innumerable resources; I have sounded her wounds and calculated her force; I have compared them, I have fathomed them, I have foreseen every thing——

† That will heal her wounds, dissipate her alarms, annihilate her dangers, and restore to France the tranquillity which has fled from her, and the dignity which becomes her; and to the Crown the public love which renders it secure, and the splendour which adorns it——

‡ Sire, I again repeat to your Majesty, that I engage to re-establish, within the space of two months, peace within, importance from without, general felicity, and the royal authority——

I will

This letter had, it is probable, been kept as a curiosity of its kind, and thrown into the chest with the other papers found there. As Barrere's name having been mentioned in one of them, namely, in a letter from M. de la Porte to the King, he thought proper to demand leave to be heard before any other person; as the President of the National Convention ought not to remain a moment under suspicion. — He desired Guadet to occupy his place as President, while he himself went to the tribune, to explain how he came to be mentioned in De la Porte's letter.

Before he began, Charlier suddenly stood up, and said, that the same delicacy which had prompted Barrere to quit his place as President, ought to have prevented Guadet from taking it up. Many voices exclaimed, that Guadet was not mentioned in any of the papers.

Charlier insisted, that although his name had not been read to the Convention, yet he was positively included in the description given by the Member who had made the report.

The way in which he attempted to make out this, is singular enough: "For," continued Charlier, "in one of the papers addressed to the King, it is said, that thirteen or fourteen of the most eloquent Members of the Convention were *dans les bonnes dispositions*; and although none of them are named, yet it is evident that Guadet

I will reveal to you what your ministers conceal, and I will instruct you in what they are ignorant. — As for my own part, Sire, I am so intimately acquainted with our force, that on contemplating the enemies who threaten us, I can scarcely suppress a sentiment of pity. I have thrown my eyes on all the Courts of Europe, and I am certain of being able to force them into peace. — I shall enjoy in silence the fruit of my counsel. — Satisfied with general prosperity, I shall direct the public gratitude to your Majesty.

must be one of them; for every body knows, that there are not thirteen members of the Convention more eloquent than he." Rhul, who was the organ of the Committee in making the report, was so much offended at hearing this, that he declared with great heat, that if his expressions were to be twisted into accusations, he would resign his place as a Member of the Committee.

Charlier's construction was condemned; Rhul was appeased; Guadet was allowed to perform the function of President, until Barrere made his defence, which was easily done; after which he resumed his office.

Guadet then quitting the President's chair, ascended the tribune, and, in reply to Charlier's insinuation, declared, that he had never been connected with the Court—"But if I had, and if I were conscious of guilt, I know how I could obtain my pardon: I know," continued he with animation, and looking to that part of the hall which the party of the Mountain occupied, "I know under whose standard those place themselves who have need of forgiveness for the most horrid crimes." This apostrophe threw the Mountain into convulsions, in the midst of which I left the Convention, and soon after we set out from Paris.

Lille, December 7.

As it was late in the afternoon before we left Paris, we got no farther than the small town of Louvre that night, to which, a little after our arrival, a party of National Guards brought about sixty prisoners. The guards sung the hymn of the Marseillais as they marched through the town; the prisoners had their hair entirely cut from their head; they were tied two and two together, the right arm of one being bound to the left of another. Those men had behaved ill at Jemappe



mappey, and Dumourier, had ordered them to be carried in this disgraceful manner to Paris, to be disposed of as the Convention should ordain. The National Guards of each town through which they passed, guarded them to the next. They were to be marched to St. Denis the following morning by a party from Louvre, and the National Guards of St. Denis would the day after conduct them to Paris.

The punishment seems well imagined, and must make a strong impression on the troops, on the whole route from Mons to Paris.

At Pont St. Maxence, a Courier from the Cabinet, with dispatches for Dumourier, overtook us; he travelled in a cabriolet adorned with the Cap of Liberty and other insignia of the Republic. This man, understanding that our road and his was the same as far as Cambray, made a proposal to take one of the servants into his carriage on certain conditions, informing us at the same time, that it would be advantageous to have him with us, because he being a messenger from the Cabinet, the gates of all the towns through which we were to pass, would be opened to us at whatever hour of the night we might arrive.

We agreed to his proposal, and proceeded to Peronne, where we arrived an hour after it was dark: there we should have remained that night, but as the gates were to be opened at any hour for the Courier, we were persuaded by him to go on, for he assured us, "that we were within three posts of one of the best inns in France, which was protected by General Dumourier, and where he always lodged when he travelled on that road,

road, for the landlord and landlady were the most hospitable and obliging people in the world." The Courier gave such an inviting description of this inn, that in spite of the excessive rain and darkness of the night we left Peronne, travelled three posts farther, and arrived at the gate of this famous inn about midnight. After a great deal of knocking, a servant looked out of a window, and having in a very angry tone said, "*On ne loge pas ici,*" shut the window with a great deal more force than was requisite: this was rather disagreeable news to people who had been travelling since five in the morning, and flattering their imagination during the last four hours, with the hopes of refreshment and rest.

Our Courier was a good deal confused at this; but on farther inquiry, he was informed that the landlord and landlady were both ill of a malignant fever, which had proved fatal to one of the principal servants, and many other persons in the neighbourhood.

It is fortunate for men, when the best measure they could adopt is the only one which is left in their power. Our not passing the night at this inn, in spite of the malignant fever, did not depend entirely on our prudence. We were under the necessity of proceeding in the midst of the rain to Cambray; the Courier renewing his assurances, that as he was un Courrier du Cabinet, the gates would be opened as soon as he should be announced.

At about two or three in the morning, we stopped at a most miserable hovel, immediately without the gates of Cambray. Had we been ever so much disposed to complain of hardship or fatigue, every expression of that kind would have

have been suppressed by the behaviour of a young dragoon, who jumped from behind our carriage as soon as it stopped. His arm was in a scarf: he informed us, "that his thumb and two of his fingers had been shot off at the action near Manchould; that he had been at Paris to solicit a small pension, to prevent him from starving, because," added he, holding up his wounded hand, "avec cette b— de main, I can neither fire a musket, nor work:—the Secretary of the Minister told me, that I could not obtain a pension without a recommendation from my Colonel; I saw very well, qu'il se — de moi\*, for he knew that my Colonel was with the army. I immediately determined to set out for it myself, being sure of getting a recommendation from the Colonel, who is un brave garçon; and I should have been obliged to have made the whole journey on foot, had it not been for the politeness of Monsieur le Courier, who invited me to go behind your chaise, where I have sat as happy as a king all the way from Peronne, for I always have been very fortunate."

This poor fellow had a little dog in his arms, which he endeavoured to dry with the skirts of his coat. He was desired to come near a furnace with some embers in it, which stood in the middle of the room, and we lamented to see him quite drenched with rain. "Ce n'est rien, Citoyen Anglais," said he, "j'y suis accoutumé—mais je crois bien que mon pauvre chien a froid—viens, viens, mon ami," continued he, caressing the dog, "viens te chauffer\*. My wife

\* That he made a jest of me.

† It is nothing to me, Citizen—I am used to it; but I fear my poor dog may be cold; come, come hither, poor fellow, and warm yourself.



got this little dog when he was quite a puppy, and it will prove the most fortunate thing in the world, for I intend him as a present to my Colonel, who is distractedly fond of dogs, and will in return give me a very strong recommendation; but I have all my life been a very fortunate fellow; viens, mon petit Azor, baise ton maître. Oh, il est impayable!

"You say you have two children," said I. "Yes, citizen," replied he, "and both by my wife."

"I do not understand," resumed I, "how you could maintain a wife and two children on the pay of a dragoon." "Ce qui est impossible n'est pas aisé à comprendre, Citoyen," answered he; "but the truth is, it was my wife who maintained me and the children: she is a very industrious woman, and used to get three livres ten sols for making a shirt, when she made for people of quality; but at present, when there are no people of quality, she receives only forty sols for each shirt. Je ne me plains pas, parce que je suis bon Patriote moi—mais il y a une grande différence entre 40 s. et trois livres dix. Malgré cela j'ai toujours eu du bonheur."

"Eh votre main," said the Courier.

"N'a main—ma main," answered the dragoon;—"ça pouvoit être mon bras: un de mes camarades à deux pas de moi a eu la cuisse emportée—est-ce que le General Kellermann n'a pas eu aussi un cheval tué sous lui?—c'est une

\*Come, my little Azor—kiss your master. O, he is a  
What is absolutely impossible, is not easily understood.

une plus grande perte que mes f—doigts pour le General. Ainsi vous voyez, Citoyen, combien j'ai toujours été heureux\*."

We were indebted to the high spirits and gaiety of this young fellow, for keeping us in tolerable good humour during two hours that we remained in this wretched place; the horses being all the time exposed to the rain, for there was no stable.

Our courier of the Cabinet mean while was blustering and swearing at the sentinel on the rampart, who could not immediately find any body to send to the Magistrates for an order to open the gates---for there was no regular garrison at this time in Cambray; and when the order was obtained, a good deal of time was lost before the man who kept the keys could be roused.

Three men armed with muskets, but without uniforms, came at last, and informed us, that the gates were open. The Courier recommenced his blustering, and threatened the whole Municipality of Cambray with the vengeance of Dumourier. He also expressed a fear that the General would blame him for the delay.

The dragoon, who was of the happy disposition to view every thing in the most favourable light,

\* I do not complain—because I am a good Patriot—but there is a great difference between 40 sols and three livres ten. In spite of that, however, I have always been fortunate. What say you to the wound in your hand?

My hand—why, I say, it might have been my whole arm; one of my comrades, within two steps of me, had his thigh carried off; and had not General Kellermann a horse killed under him? and that was a greater loss to the General than my shabby fingers.—So you perceive that I have always been fortunate.

light, endeavoured to console him, saying, "Non; Dumourier ne vous blamera pas: il est trop bon soldat pour ne pas savoir, que quand on ne peut pas prendre une ville d'assaut, il faut attendre qu'elle se rende\*."

On entering Cambray, the Courier went directly to the town-house, and got a formal attestation of the time he had been detained at the gate, to shew to Dumourier, as an excuse for his delay—and immediately proceeded on his journey, accompanied by the dragoon.

As no gate was allowed to be opened except that at which they went out, we were detained two or three hours longer, till the usual time of throwing open all the gates.

We passed through Douay, and arrived the same evening at this town.

We have visited the quarter where the Austrians formed their entrenchments and batteries, from which the town was bombarded: a large village, near which the entrenchments were formed, was, before the main body of the Austrian army advanced, unexpectedly surrounded by their light troops; and, as we are told, the wretched inhabitants, with many more peasants driven there by the body of the army, were forced to work in the trenches, so that the fire from the ramparts destroyed a much greater number of the country people than of the soldiers.

The answer returned by the municipality to the summons of Prince Albert of Saxony, was firm and laconic.

"Nous

Dumourier will not blame you—he is too good a soldier not to know, that when a town cannot be taken by assault, it is necessary to wait till it surrenders.



"Nous venons de renouveler notre serment, d'être fidèles à la nation, de maintenir la liberté et l'égalité, ou de mourir à notre poste. Nous ne sommes pas des parjures\*.

"Fait à la Maison Commune, le 29 Septembre 1792, l'an 1 de la République Française.

"Du Conseil permanent de la Commune de Lille.

(Signé) ANDRE, Maire.

ROHART, Secrétaire-Greffier."

The bombs and red hot bullets were particularly directed against that part of the town where the poorer inhabitants lived, with the double purpose of sparing the most valuable buildings in a city which, as was expected, was soon to belong to the Emperor, and also to excite the most numerous class of the inhabitants against the rich, and make them force the commander to deliver up the town. It had no such effect, however, and the enthusiasm of the inhabitants increased every hour. The courage and alacrity of the inhabitants in seizing and removing the hot bullets before they had time to kindle the wood was surprising. They had iron instruments contrived for that purpose; and the towns of Armentiers, Bethune, Arras, Dunkirk, Cassel, Cambrai, and others sent their engines for extinguishing fire, to Lille, and volunteers from all those cities presented themselves in great numbers for the defence of the place; which obliged the Austrians to retreat from the town, after having beaten down by the bombardment three complete streets

\* We have just renewed our oath of fidelity to the nation, that we are determined to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post.

We are resolved not to be perjured.

in the quarter of St. Sauveur, and many other houses in different parts of the town, which still remain in ruins. There are few houses into which some bullets have not entered, and they are kept as precious relics by the inhabitants.

In the hotel de Bourbon, twenty bullets entered during the siege; and the mark of the burning on the floor, occasioned by one of them in the room where I now write, is very evident: but no person was killed belonging to the family, except the chief waiter, as he was crossing the square to put a letter into the post-office.

A poor fellow who is decrotteur to the hotel, told me that it was owing to the watchful care and mercy of Providence, that he happened to be out of the way when that letter was sent; for otherwise as he usually carried the letters to the post-office, he *himself* might have been killed instead of the waiter.

I do not know whether it will be considered as a sign that a sense of religion is declining among the French, that the beggars in asking charity no longer add *pour l'amour de Dieu*, but instead of that, generally cry *Vive la nation*; but that religious sentiments are becoming every day weaker on the minds of the common people of this country, is most apparent; but it never occurred to me, that one order of society was gaining in that article, what another was losing. A friend of mine told me, however, that he was this afternoon in a bookseller's shop; that having observed the shelves of one side entirely filled with books of devotion, he had asked of the bookseller, if books of that kind were in much request at present.

"A good deal," replied the bookseller, "with the aristocrates: as for the patriots, they hardly ever look into them."

"The reason of that," resumed my friend, "perhaps is, that the patriots being the poorer have not money to lay out on books."

"They used to purchase them formerly," said the bookseller; "and it is only since the aristocrates became poor, that many of them began to purchase them at all."

How far the bookseller's account of this matter is to be depended on I know not; but it is a lamentable truth that a great proportion of mankind think very little of the next world, till the present becomes insupportable to them. And with regard to the inhabitants of this country, it must be acknowledged that the revolution has been hitherto so wretchedly managed, as to render the higher orders of society miserable, without making the lower happy.

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Although my Journal is continued until the 14th of December, when I returned to England, I omit the remainder, that I may insert what will be thought more interesting.

Some of the following particulars relative to the King's process, and the treatment which he and his family met with in the Temple, I learnt while I was in France; others I have been informed of since my return to England. I imagine the whole may be placed with propriety at this place, with an account of the King's death.



With whatever irregularity, precipitation and injustice the process against the King will be thought to have been carried on, it was with much difficulty and personal danger, to one party of the Convention, that it was so long protracted. I have reason to believe that some of the Convention regretted exceedingly the precipitate decree which abolished royalty, and were convinced that it would have equally tended to the happiness and lasting freedom of France, if the Convention had restored the King and re-established the constitution, with such alterations as might have been thought expedient.

I have reason to believe that there was a still greater number of the members who were of opinion, that after the republican form of government was decreed, the most equitable and most politic measure which the Convention could adopt, was to declare that they would make no inquiry whether the King had been in correspondence with the enemy or not; because, at any rate, the nation was determined on a republican form of government, and therefore should order the whole Royal family to be escorted to the frontiers, and permitted to go wherever they judged proper, with an annual pension of at least one hundred thousand louis, to be regularly paid as long as they should live in tranquillity, without exciting war against France, or a civil war in it for their restoration; revoking at the same time the decree against Savoy, and renewing their original declaration, against extending their dominions and offensive war of any kind.

That part of the Convention who were of either of those opinions, with all who were desirous of saving the King, finding it dangerous  
to

to avow their sentiments, endeavoured by various means to prevent a trial, until the public mind should be so much softened as to admit of a fair trial, or till the idea of trial should dissipate altogether. When this failed, they attempted to carry the sentence of confinement during the war, and exile after it: when that failed, they tried the appeal to the primary assemblies; and finally, they endeavoured to save him by voting to postpone the execution of the sentence.

Instead of those evasive measures, the nobler part would have been, no doubt, to have voted him not guilty at the first nominal appeal.

I do not know that this was the opinion of any of them; but I have heard several of them declare, that they thought the King's life fully protected by the Constitution, and that he could not be justly condemned to death; although all were proved which was laid to his charge, which in their opinion was not the case.

The violent party against the King, on the other hand, took great pains and used many arts, both within and without the Assembly, to have all forms of process cut short by a bloody and sudden catastrophe.

Legendre proposed that all those who had published their opinions, or put them in writing, should lay them on the table of the Assembly; and that after the intervention of one day, the Convention should pronounce sentence without hearing the King.

Robespierre was for ending the whole in twenty-four hours without separating.

St. André declared that the King had been judged and condemned by the people on the 10th of August, and that the Convention had nothing to do but to order his execution.

It was dreaded by some who wished the death of the monarch, that his appearance at the bar of the Convention would soften the people, and perhaps move them in his favour; and when they found that others of their own party, who were equally the enemies of the King, were determined that he should be heard, they imagined means of the most profligate nature to prevent it.

Papers were cried through the streets to inflame the minds of the populace to such a degree, that they should insist on his immediate execution; and if that was delayed, to execute him themselves, either in prison or when he should be carried to the Assembly. It was asserted that the country never could be happy while he lived; that all the misfortunes of the country, all the distress the people suffered, and the still greater with which they were threatened, proceeded from the King's being suffered to live; that a party in the Convention, namely, the Gironde and the friends of Roland and Brissot, were bribed by the Powers at war with France, to save the King, and prolong the distresses of France; and that although they durst not openly in the Convention deny that he was criminal, and deserved death, yet they were endeavouring, under various pretexts, to prolong his process, and delay his execution, till an opportunity occurred to re-establish him on the throne.



The most absurd assertions were made in the Convention itself to this tendency. At one time, a little before I left Paris, when there was a discussion concerning the scarcity of grain, which by different members was imputed to different causes, I heard a voice pronounce, *La véritable cause est dans le Temple.* I was informed that this wise observation came from Legendre.

Hand-bills were distributed with these words: "Republicains, guillotinez moi Louis XVI. et l'Autrichienne si vous voulez avoir du pain." And the printed opinion of Marat was sold at the same time.

When the Royal Family were first lodged in the Temple, they were treated with some degree of respect, and they were allowed the comfort of each other's company, and the liberty of walking in the garden of the Temple; but the appearance of respect gradually diminished, and at last the treatment they received was in many instances brutal.

A person who was admitted into the Temple by the means of a near relation on duty there about the beginning of December, assured me, that at the hour at which, by a standing order from the Council, the prisoners were to be confined to their apartments, he saw the keeper go to the King, who was still walking in the garden, and address him in these words: "*Allons, monsieur Veto, il faut monter.*"

When the Royal Family dined, a Commissioner from the Commune of Paris was always present. The Queen happened at one time to raise the hand in which she held her knife a little suddenly

suddenly towards her breast. — The Commissioner seemed alarmed, and made a movement as if he dreaded that she had an intention against her life; which the Queen observing, said with emphasis: “Non, Monsieur, je réserve cet honneur aux François\*.”

From the time that the King's process was resolved upon, the Royal Family were confined more closely, and watched more strictly than ever. The Council ordered that in future two Commissioners should pass the night in his bed-chamber, instead of one, which had been the case before. All persons who were admitted into the presence of any of the Royal Family were previously searched. Orders were given that the razors with which the King was in the use of shaving himself should be removed: this was done from a fear that he might prefer suicide to the humiliation of a public trial before the Convention.

Such an idea was remote from the King's way of thinking. When his razors and pen-knife were demanded from him, “Do you think me such a coward as to kill myself?” said he.

The order not only comprehended knives and razors, but also scissars, and all instruments contondant, tranchant et piquant, and it was extended to all the Royal Family. “Il faudroit aussi nous enlever nos aiguilles,” said the Queen when it was read to her.

When the King, afterwards, repeatedly applied for a razor, it was at last granted by the Council, who directed, however, that he should have

\* I reserve that honour to the Convention.

have himself under the inspection of the Commissioners: and the Queen and Princess Elizabeth were allowed scissars to pare their nails with the same restriction. This last seems ridiculous, and the former absurd; for if the King had had any intention of using a razor in the manner they suspected, he could have put it in execution as effectually while the commissioners were present as at any other time.

After a long and warm debate, it was decreed by the Convention, that the King should be brought to their bar; that the act of accusation should be read to him; that the president should put certain questions to him, which were previously drawn up by the committee, and approved of by the assembly; and that after his answers had been taken down, a day should be appointed for hearing him finally, and pronouncing judgment. It was also decreed that the opinions of the Deputies should be taken by the appel nominal.

This mode was violently insisted on by the faction of the Mountain, in the hopes that some whose consciences acquitted him, might, from a terror of the mob, be induced to pronounce against him.

Had the opinion of the Convention been taken in the usual way, it would have been less under the influence of fear; but the most certain method of getting the unbiassed judgment of the deputies, would have been by ballot, had that been adopted, there would probably have been a majority in favour of the King, even on the first general question of guilty or not; and there is no doubt but it would have been carried by a great majority against



against the pains of death, if the first question had been lost.

In the mean time, the king knew nothing of its being decreed that he should appear at the bar of the Convention. In an extract from the report of the Commissioners that were on service at the temple on that day, the following particulars are mentioned :—

The King rose as usual at seven; he spent only a few minutes in dressing, and about three quarters of an hour in prayer. At eight the drums were heard; he enquired of the Commissioners what was the meaning of it, as he had not before heard them so early.

The Commissioners pretended ignorance. "Do you not think," rejoined the King, "that they beat the general?" The commissioners replied, they could not distinguish. The King walked musing through the room, and sometimes stood listening attentively. "I think I hear the sound of horse's feet in the court," said he. The Commissioners gave no explanation.

The Royal Family breakfasted together that morning; they were full of alarm and disquietude at the noise, which increased every moment, and of which they plainly perceived the cause was carefully concealed from them.

Uncertainty in such circumstances agitates the mind more than a full assurance of the worst; the Queen and Princesses went to their own apartments after breakfast, and left the Prince Royal with the King. The Commissioners at last informed him, that he was about to receive a visit from

from the Mayor of Paris.—"So much the better," said the King. "But I must inform you," resumed the Commissioner, "that he cannot speak to you in the presence of your son." The King then, after pressing the child to his breast, desired him to go and embrace his mother in his name. Clery, the valet who attended the King, withdrew with the Prince.

The King asked the Commissioner, "if he knew what the Mayor's business with him was," and was answered in the negative. He walked about the room for some time, stopping at intervals to ask questions respecting the person and character of the Mayor. The commissioner answered, "that he was not particularly acquainted with him, but that he was of a good character, and, to the best of his recollection of a middle age, thin and rather tall. The King seated himself in a chair, and continued absorbed in meditation. Meanwhile the Commissioner had moved behind the chair on which the King was seated. When he awaked from his reverie, not seeing any body, he turned suddenly round, and perceiving the Commissioner close behind him, said with quickness, "What do you want, Sir?" "Nothing," replied the other; "but fearing you were indisposed, I approached to know what ailed you\*."

Monsieur Chambon, the Mayor, entered soon after, and informed the King, that he came to conduct him to the National Convention: the King accompanied him without making any objection. When he came to the court, which was full of troops, horse as well as foot, he seemed

\* These particulars, which some may think of a nature too trifling and minute, strongly paint the state of agitation and suspicion, in which the mind of the unhappy Monarch was at this time.

seemed surpris'd at seeing some of them in uniforms with which he was unacquainted.

Before he stepped into the Mayor's coach, he threw up his eyes to the window of the apartment in which his family were confined, and the tears were observed to trickle down his cheeks,

The coach then proceeded to the Convention, attended by the troops.

The Commissioner ascended to the Queen's apartment, and found the whole family overwhelmed with fear and sorrow. He acquainted them that the Mayor had been with the King: the young Prince had already informed them: "We know that," said the Queen; "but now—where have they carried the King now?" "To the Convention," replied the Commissioner. "You would have saved us much uneasiness," said the Princess Elizabeth, "if you had informed us of this sooner."

What dreadful apprehensions must this Princess have been under, to find any relief in hearing that her brother was carried before an Assembly of men To prejudiced against him as she knew the Convention to be!

The King was conducted to the Convention by the Boulevards, la rue neuve des Capucines, la place Vendôme, et la cour des Feuillans. All the streets which open to the Boulevards had guards stationed in them, with orders to prevent a multitude from assembling; and cannon were placed at the entrance of all those streets; patrols were ordered to prevent any kind of obstruction by groups, or carriages, along the whole of the way



way that the King was to be conducted. Strong guards were placed at different posts near the Tuileries and Hall of the Assembly. It is said there were near 100,000 men in arms that day in Paris.

The glasses of the coach were down during the whole way, and there was no disturbance. Great numbers however were waiting, in all the passages leading to the Assembly, and the tribunes had been filled from six in the morning. It was remarked, that Marat was dressed in a new suit; and that his features announced satisfaction and good humour, which was considered as still a greater rarity.

The act of Accusation having been read, some of the Deputies mentioned circumstances, which they thought of importance, that had been omitted. Drouet, the post-master, who was the cause of the King's being stopped at Varennes, had been elected a Deputy to the Convention for that service. He thought this a good opportunity to distinguish himself as an orator—"Lewis," said he, "is a *cheat* (fourbe), and wished to impose upon the nation, in saying that he intended to go to Montmedi, for the villain (scelerat) was expected at the Abbaye d'Orvalle; and the traitor knew that a detachment of hussars were waiting for him a few leagues from Varennes; *the monster* then had the intention, &c. &c. &c."

This was more than his audience, prejudiced as it was against the King, could bear; the post-master was obliged to stop in the middle of his

abusive career, his voice being stifled by an universal murmur\*.

It was announced by the President, that from the moment that Lewis should appear at the bar, no petition should be heard, no motion of any kind made, no sign of approbation or disapprobation given, but a profound silence maintained. When Lewis appears, exclaimed Legendre, "*il faut qu'il regne ici le silence des tombeaux*." This brutal insinuation had no better success than the eloquence of Drouet.

Marat, however, had the fairness to declare, that in his opinion, the king ought not to be questioned about any thing previous to his acceptance of the Constitution: this is so evident, that it is wonderful it was left to Marat to make the observation, and more so that it was disregarded when made.

Other proposals were made by other members, and some adopted: at about one o'clock the Assembly were informed, that the King was in the *Chambre des Conférences*; on which Barrere, the President, having reminded the Assembly and audience of the silence they ought to maintain, desired that he might be conducted to the bar.

An awful silence prevailed; every eye was fixed on the door at which he entered. The King appeared with a serene air and undisturbed countenance. The spectators betrayed great emotion.

After

\* When Drouet was in the middle of his harangue, a gentleman asked one of the Deputies, who he was: "Monsieur," replied the Deputy, "*c'est un Maître de Poste, qui a voulu faire claquer son fouet bien mal-à-propos.*"

After a short interval, Barrere addressed him: "Lewis, the French Nation accuse you of having committed various crimes to re-establish tyranny on the ruins of liberty; the National Convention has decreed that you shall be tried—and the Members who composed it are to be your Judges. You will hear the accusation read, after which you will answer to the questions which shall be proposed.

To this the King made no reply.

The general Act of Accusation was then read, after which the President repeated the first article of accusation, and added, "Lewis, what have you to answer?" On which the King gave his answer, and the President proceeded to read the second article, and demanded the King's answer in the same words; and so on, until the whole of the articles were finished.

During this examination, some new questions occurred to the Committee, which were put in writing, and handed to the President, who put them in the same manner to the King, and received his answers.

The King's behaviour during the whole of his appearance in the Convention was calm, recollected, and that of a man resigned to the necessity of circumstances, without the consciousness of guilt; his answers were sensible, pertinent, and prompt. He never lost his composure, except in one instance, when the President read the following strange accusation: "You distributed money among the populace for the treacherous purpose of acquiring popularity, and enslaving the nation."



The perversion of his very benevolence into a crime, astonished the unfortunate Monarch, and deprived him for a moment of the power of utterance—he shed tears—but a consciousness of the purity of his intentions rendered them tears of comfort. “I always took pleasure,” said he, “in relieving those in want, but never had any treacherous purpose.”

Upon the whole, when it is considered that the questions were deliberately drawn up by a Select Committee, and afterwards corrected and enlarged by the whole Convention, while the King’s answers were given extempore, and without even a previous knowledge that he was to be examined in that manner, it places his understanding in a very advantageous point of view.

To keep the King ignorant to the last of any intention of examining him, and then hurry him unprepared to their bar, was ungenerous and shameful in the highest degree—it might have disconcerted him in such a manner as to have given scope to malice; his enemies would have imputed to conscious guilt that disorder in his answers and conduct, which surprise or indignation might naturally have produced:—and it is impossible not to suspect that the secrecy was employed for that very purpose. If so, all those enemies have been disappointed; the malignity by which they attempted to obscure his character, has only served to put it in a fairer light.

When the King had answered all the questions, the original papers on which part of the accusation was founded were laid on the table. Valazé taking them up one by one, and reading  
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ing the title, said, as he presented each to the King, "Louis Capet, la reconnoissez-vous?" If the King answered that he knew it, Valazé said, "Louis la reconnoit;" and the President repeated, "La piece est reconnue." If the King disavowed it, they said, "Louis ne la reconnoit pas—La piece n'est paz reconnue."

The King disavowed many of them. When the whole had been investigated in this manner, the President addressing the King said, "I have no other questions to propose—have you any thing more to add in your defence?" "I desire to have a copy of the accusation," replied the King, "and of the papers on which it is founded.—I also desire to have a Counsel of my own nomination." Barrere informed him, that his two first requests were already decreed, and that the determination respecting the other would be made known to him in due time.

After which the King withdrew, and was conducted back to the Temple in the same carriage, and with the same attendants that he had when he came to the Assembly. The crowd in the streets was greater than in the morning; the continued cries of "Vive la Republique!" accompanied the coach from the Assembly Hall to the Temple, and the cry "A la Guillotine" was also heard more frequently than in the morning, but less so than was expected by those who had taken so much pains to irritate the populace against him.

In the coach, the King asked Chaumet, the Procureur Syndic, "if he thought the Convention would allow him to have Counsel." This man, by the account which he afterwards gave

of what passed, answered shortly, "that his duty was to conduct him to and from the Assembly, and not to answer questions."

When he arrived at the Temple, and was in his apartment, he sent a message, desiring to speak to the Mayor, who, being in his carriage and ready to drive away, immediately obeyed the summons, and ascended to the King's chamber." "I hope," said he to Chambon, "that you will not delay to let me know, whether I am allowed Counsel." The Mayor replied, "that he might rely upon being informed as soon as possible; adding, that he was persuaded the Convention were too just to refuse to him what the law allowed to all."

Every member of the Convention was not of the same way of thinking with the Mayor: about thirty or forty Deputies of the faction called the Mountain were against granting that request, and opposed it by the most indecent clamours; but finding their efforts vain, they next insisted that he should be allowed only one person for Counsel. The great majority on the contrary were for allowing him three: the debate became so tumultuous, that the President was obliged to put on his hat\*: the Mountain was at last obliged to relinquish this shameful attempt; and it was decreed that the King should have Counsel, without limiting the number, and that a message should instantly be sent to inform him of this. One of those who had opposed his having any Counsel, proposed that two of the servants of the Assembly (huissiers) should carry this message; but the Convention ordered four of their members for that purpose.

After  
 \* This is a signal to order, never given but in cases of great confusion, and is generally obeyed.



After the Mayor left the Temple, the King immediately examined the *Constitution*, of which he had a copy, and said to the Commissioner, who was now alone with him, "Yes, I find that the law allows me Counsel; but may I not also be allowed the satisfaction of having my family with me?" The Commissioner answered, "that he did not know, but would go and consult the Committee." He went accordingly, and returned soon after; he informed the King that he could not see his family.—"That is hard," said the King.—"But my son, they will not deny me the comfort of his company at least—he is a child, Sir, of only seven years of age."

"The Committee have declared," replied the Commissioner, "that you shall have no communication with your family—Your son is of your family."

The Commissioner left the King, and went to the Queen's apartment, where all the Royal family were. The Queen immediately asked, if they might not all wait on the King, who they knew was returned from the Convention. The Commissioner gave the same answer he had given to the King.—"At least," said the Queen, "let him have the company of this child; pray allow his son to go to him." The Commissioner replied, "that as the child could not be with both, it was best that the person who might be supposed to have the greatest courage should suffer the privation: besides," he added, "a child of that age has more need of the care of a mother than of a father."

The following day the four Deputies informed the Convention of their having been with the King

King, and that he had named Target and Tronchet as his Counsel.

Tronchet accepted, declaring at the same time, that he was aware of the delicacy and danger of the office, which humanity to a man, over whose head the sword of justice hung, imposed on him—and for which, in all events, he would accept of no recompense.

Target wrote a letter to the President of the Convention, excusing himself on account of his age and infirmities, and desiring that his letter might be sent to the King, that he might choose another.

This afforded some Members of the Assembly a fresh opportunity of displaying their disposition—they complained of the incidents which continually occurred to retard the final issue of the process. Offelin\* said, that one Counsel might refuse after another, to the loss of much precious time, and therefore proposed that the Convention should name Counsel for the King, whom he must either accept, or find others within twenty-four hours.

This revolted the greater part of the Assembly; and when it was asked, how it could be imagined that the King could place confidence in those of their nomination, Tallien said with a rancour that well accorded with his character, "Qu'il s'arrange, qu'il trouve des Conseils qui acceptent; c'est son affaire; la nôtre est venger la Majesté nationale\*."

Fermond

\* This same Offelin was President of the Criminal Tribunal of the 17th of August!

\* He must do the best he can, he must find those who will accept, that is his business; it is ours to avenge the Majesty of the Nation.

Fermond and Rabaut de St. Etienne spoke against this savage precipitation; another proposed to adjourn: Thuriot, and Bentabole, the same who had accompanied Marat on his visit to Dumourier, opposed the adjournment. "Do tyrants ever adjourn their vengeance against the people?" said Legendre, "and yet you talk of adjourning the justice of the people against a tyrant." This argument was well suited to the understandings and inclinations of the audience in the galleries, and met with their applause.

In the mean time, a deputation from the Council of the Commune of Paris came to communicate to the Convention a decree which they had passed regarding the measures they thought necessary to follow in the present circumstances. By this decree, the King was to have no communication with his family:—his valet de chambre was to be locked up with him, and to have no intercourse with any body else:—his Counsel were to be strictly examined (*scrupuleusement examinés, fouillés jusqu'aux endroits les plus secrets*). After having thrown off the clothes in which they entered, they were to be dressed in others provided for them in the Temple, and under the inspection of the Commissioners who attended the King, and were not to be allowed to leave the Temple till after sentence was pronounced. It was also an article in this Decree, that the Counsel should take an oath never to mention any thing they heard while in the Temple."

Decrees have sometimes been proposed, and measures have been adopted, by these men, of such a detestable and atrocious nature, that we are almost tempted to suspect that some individual among



among them is bribed to suggest and persuade them into measures which must render them and their cause for ever odious and detestable. What could the enemies of civil liberty with more, than that those who call themselves her friends should act so as to shock common decency, and revolt all the feelings of humanity?

This abominable decree was with difficulty heard to the end; it excited the greatest marks of disgust; there was a cry from all parts of the Assembly to annul the decree, and censure those who made it. Robespierre had the courage to face this storm; he declared that he was convinced that a very laudable spirit had dictated the decree,—“which,” added he, “is perhaps too mild for the occasion.” This declaration produced violent murmurs, and many voices were heard exclaiming—“*Hors de la tribune!*”

“I know,” resumed he, “that there is a party in this Assembly for saving the traitor; but I am surprised that those who shew so much tenderness and sympathy for an oppressor, have none for the good people whom he oppressed.”

This gained the galleries in an instant, and they resounded with applause.

Several Members however put the inquisitorial and shameful Decree of the Commune in a just light; and conjured the Assembly, in the name of decency, humanity, and Justice, to annul it; which was carried.

The Convention were afterwards informed, that several people had offered to be Council for the King; all of whom he had refused except M. Malesherbes and M. Tronchet, who having  
been

been at the Temple and admitted into the King's presence, on the 14th, found that he had not then received any of the papers he had demanded.

Monsieur de Lamoignon-Malesherbes is a man of an amiable and respectable character; of distinguished sense and probity, and learning; of one of the chief families of what is called The Robe in France; he is grandson of the Chancellor Lamoignon, who was an intimate friend of Boileau, Racine, and other men of genius in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth.

The present Monsieur de Malesherbes distinguished himself towards the end of the reign of Lewis XVI. by some very eloquent and courageous remonstrances which he drew up when he was first President of the *Conseil des Aides*, and for which he was banished.

In the beginning of the reign of Lewis XVI. he succeeded Monsieur de St. Florentin in the Ministry; but afterwards, for reasons which are variously stated, he desired and obtained leave to retire.

This respectable man is seventy-two years of age; his generous offer to be Counsel for the King gains him the applause of the public, and forms a contrast greatly in his favour with the cautious conduct of M. Target, which has been condemned by all parties.—Even the fishwomen of Paris marked the difference, went in a body and hung garlands of flowers and laurel on the gate of Monsieur de Malesherbes, and afterwards proceeded to the house of Monsieur Target, in the intention to insult him in a manner peculiar to themselves. Fortunately for him, he was advertised of their intention, and made his escape.

It

It is much to be wished that all the Members of the Convention had been endowed with equal sentiments of Justice with these Poussardes. The discrimination displayed on this occasion is a proof that the lowest inhabitants of Paris are not devoid of sentiments of generosity; and that if they were acquainted with the real character of the King, the spirit of rancour which has been perfidiously raised against him would soon be turned against his persecutors.

It will not be improper here to insert an anecdote which does honour to the heart of this unfortunate Prince. Two Commissioners of very opposite dispositions were with the King when the shocking exhibition of the head of Madame de Lamoignon was made under his windows, on the third of September. One of those men hearing the noise, and recognising the head, had the brutality to invite the King to come to the window, and he would see a very curious sight. The King was advancing towards the window, when the other ran and withheld him, saying, the sight was too shocking for him to support.

The person to whom the King afterwards related these circumstances, asked the names of the two Commissioners. The King freely told him the name of the latter, but refused to mention that of the former—"because," said he, "it can do him no credit at any time; and might possibly at some future period bring him to trouble." As the benevolence of the King's disposition appeared through the whole of his reign, his enemies have endeavoured to conceal and misrepresent every circumstance of this kind. But notwithstanding all the pains they



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they have taken, so many proofs of his candour, moderation and integrity were known, that those who worked his death were in constant dread of a return of humanity and affection in the hearts of the people towards him; and therefore were at great pains to fill the tribunes with persons hired to make an outcry against him: and they were so apprehensive on this subject as to suspect those very agents of relenting.

When the King was indisposed in the month of November, and the Physician Le-monier ordered to visit him, some symptoms of concern were manifested by the people, which alarmed the King's enemies greatly. It was reported and believed for one day, that he was dead; I myself heard it insinuated in a pretty large company that he was murdered; one person exclaimed with indignation—"Les scélérats l'ont empoisonné \*!"

The King's appearance in the Convention, the dignified resignation of his manner, the admirable promptitude and candour of his answers, made such an evident impression on some of the audience in the galleries, that a determined enemy of Royalty, who had his eye upon them, declared that he was afraid of hearing the cry of *Vive le Roi!* issue from the tribunes; and added, that if the King had remained ten minutes longer in their sight, he was convinced it would have happened: for which reason he was vehemently against his being brought to the bar a second time.

The Commissioners who do duty at the Temple were censured for drawing up their

\* The villains have poisoned him.

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reports so as to excite compassion, and were required to avoid this for the future. The thing was impossible, unless they had been permitted to falsify; for a bare relation of the facts, in the coldest language, must have produced the effect they wished to prevent.

Terror has acted a principal part since the beginning of the revolution—Terror first produced the emigrations, to which a great proportion of the miseries which France has suffered are owing—Terror produced that shameful passiveness in the inhabitants of Paris and Versailles during the massacres—Terror prevented sympathy from appearing in the faces of many who felt it in their hearts for the unfortunate monarch, during this process, and Terror at last pronounced the sentence of his death.

Besides the means already mentioned, of inflaming the populace by pamphlets and handbills, men were hired to mix with the groups, in the Palais Royal, and on the terrace of the Feuillans, to harangue on the necessity of condemning the King without farther form of process: and some of these men went the length of asserting, that if the Convention did not, the people would take that business on themselves, and afterwards execute the same justice on all the Deputies who should vote for saving him.

All those inhuman manœuvres did not prevent its being strongly stated by some members in the Convention, that if the King's counsel were not allowed sufficient time to prepare his defence, the decree by which counsel was granted to him would be considered as an insult, and

the

the trial a mockery.—It was also boldly asserted by one member, that “if rancour and mean selfish views had not hardened the hearts of some present, so plain and obvious a piece of justice never would have afforded a moment’s debate.”—“It has been said,” added another, “that there are Royalists in the Convention.” “So there are; but they consist of those who push on the process with royal fury and precipitation—men who are not for trying but butchering Lewis XVI, and thereby gratifying all the princes at war with the Republic, by raising a general indignation all over Europe, at the manifest cruelty and injustice of a Republican Assembly.”

These Remonstrances seem to have had some effect; for it was decreed, that the King should be allowed till the 26th of December to prepare his defence.

It was also proposed, that during this interval the King should have a free intercourse with his family.—This was no sooner mentioned than it was assented to by the exclamations of a great majority of the Assembly. “You may decree this as much as you please,” cried Tallien; “but if the Municipality do not choose it, he will be allowed to see none of them.”

Here this man’s malice carried him farther than his accomplices approved; it was moved that he should be censured, and that the censure should be inserted in the verbal process: he attempted to avert this by a silly explanation, which proved ineffectual.

The Assembly seemed pretty generally disposed to allow a free communication between the



the King and all his family, when Reubell asserted, that it would be highly improper to allow him any communication with the Queen and the Princess Elizabeth, who were involved in the accusation, as there was reason to believe they had sent their diamonds to their brothers, to help them to make war on the nation. On this despicable pretext the King was allowed to have intercourse with his children only, and they were ordered to be kept separate from their mother and aunt till the end of the process.

It had been observed, that very few of the real Bourgeoisie of Paris could of late get access to the tribunes, the places being pre-occupied by a set of hired vagabonds, generally the same every day: so that when the other departments complain of being under the controul of the single city of Paris, they did not state the grievance in its full magnitude. All the departments of France, including that of Paris, are, in reality, often obliged to submit to the clamorous tyranny of a set of hired ruffians in the tribunes, who usurp the name and functions of the People Souverain, and, secretly directed by a few demagogues, govern this unhappy nation.

To remedy this, Manuel proposed, that a certain number of tickets of admission should be sent every day to the sections to be distributed among the real citizens.—As this plan would have prevented certain manœuvres of the Mountain, that faction opposed it with great violence; the people in the galleries thundered against it; some of them called out, “A l’Abbaye Manuel, à l’Abbaye l’aristocrate Manuel!” Legendre, the butcher, proposed, that it should be decreed, that Manuel had lost his senses.—This sally, the  
finesse

ing period, and shewed a strong desire of doing every thing in their power, in justification of a prince of whose innocence they all seemed fully convinced.

M. Louis de Narbonne, who had been Minister of War when the hostilities began between France and the Emperor, and from that circumstance was enabled to throw great light on the subject, wrote to the President of the Convention, offering to appear at the bar as one of the defenders of the King, provided a protection was sent to make it safe for him to pass and repass through France. The Convention passed to the order of the day on this request, without even allowing the reasons which M. de Narbonne gave for its peculiar propriety to be read.

M. de Narbonne then drew up a declaration in justification of his Sovereign, which he transmitted to Messrs. Tronchet and Malherbes: from the last he received the following letter:

Paris, 31 Decembre 1792.

“J’ai reçu, Monsieur, votre lettre et la déclaration de vos sentimens.

“Vous ne me mandez pas quel usage vous voulez que j’en fasse. Si c’est de la faire imprimer, ce ne peut pas être moi qui m’en charge, parce qu’étant le conseil de celui qui fut mon Roi, je ne peux faire aucune démarche qui ne soit regardée comme faite par lui. Au reste, votre déclaration ne peut avoir aucune influence sur le jugement de la Convention Nationale,

Nationale, parce qu'à l'heure où je vous écris, on procède au jugement.

« Il est possible que le jugement qu'on rendra, entraîne une autre discussion en présence de la nation. Ce sera alors à vous de voir si vous croyez devoir faire paraître votre déclaration en faveur du plus malheureux et du plus vertueux des hommes.

« Quant à moi, si la cause se plaide devant la nation, je suis très déterminé à la soutenir aussi publiquement que je pourrai, quand même on prononcerait que je ne suis plus le défenseur légal de l'innocent.

Dans ce cas-là, Monsieur, je vous prévient que je me servirai de plusieurs articles de votre lettre sans prétendre me les approprier, parce qu'il ne me serait pas possible de rendre aussi bien que vous, plusieurs grandes vérités, qu'il sera important de mettre sous les yeux de la nation.

« Mais la plus grande partie de votre déclaration concerne des faits qui vous sont personnels, et que vous seul avez droit de certifier.

(Signé)

MALESHERBES\*.

« A Monsieur Louis de Narbonne, ancien Ministre de la Guerre de France, à Londres. »

M.

I have received your letter, and the declaration of your sentiments. You do not inform me what use you wish to be made of them. If you desire to have them printed, I am not the person who can take upon me to do it; because, being one of his counsel who was my King, whatever I do will



finesse of which will not be apparent to all the world, was thought exquisite by the people in the tribunes. When they had done with their applause, Manuel returned his thanks to Legendre, for not having moved that it should be decreed that he was an ox; because, if that had passed, Legendre might have thought he had a right to slaughter him.

Monsieur Deseize was added to Messrs. de Malesherbes and Tronchet, as a counsel for the King: the business they had to go through was too laborious for two persons only, and the time allowed still too short.

From the report of one of the Commissioners we learn the following particulars, which, though minute, serve to illustrate the character of the King:—The Commissioners, who were ordered on duty at the Temple, having, according to custom, drawn lots for their different posts, that of the King's apartment fell to a M. Cubieres, who, with another Commissioner, was introduced at eleven at night, the King being then asleep. He rose as usual at seven, and took a book, which they afterwards found was a breviary;—breakfast was brought at nine, but the King refused to eat because it was the fast of Le Quatre Temps. —He spent some time in prayer, and afterwards asked Cubieres about the health of the Queen and his sister.—He walked musing through the room; and then, raising his eyes to Heaven, "This day (said he) my daughter is fourteen years of age." The unhappy Prince repeated the same expression after a pause, during which the tears flowed from his eyes, and he was greatly agitated.

Monfieur de Malefherbes and the other two counfel came, and he paffed moft of that day and the next with them, and with four deputies from the Convention, who came with papers relative to his trial.

One of the Commiffioners faid to Malefherbes, in a converfation apart, that he was furprifed to obferve that he gave the Moniteur and other Journals to Lewis, becaufe he would by it become acquainted with many things very difagreeable, and particularly to what a degree the people were prejudiced againft him. Monf. Malefherbes replied, that the King (for he perfifted in calling him the King) was of a ftrong character, and beheld his misfortunes with magnanimity.

The Commiffioners hinted to M. de Malefherbes, that, by the free admiffion he had to the King, he might, if he were not an honeft man, furnifh him with poifon.

“If I fhould,” replied M. de Malefherbes, “the King is too fincere a chriftian to make ufe of it.”

The refolution of the Convention to try the King and to be themfelves his judges, aftonifhed Europe, and was heard with forrow and indignation by the unfortunate natives of France, whom the violence of the late meafures, or the fears of affaffination, had driven from their country.

Some of them, diftinguifhed for their talents as well as for the offices they had held in their own country, were in England at this intereft-

M. de Narbonne wrote the following answer to M. Maleherbes:

"En m'annonçant, Monsieur, que vous avez reçu la déclaration que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous adresser, vous sembler désirer que je vous indique l'usage que je souhaite qu'en soit fait. Permettez-moi de m'en rapporter sur cela à votre courageuse vertu, et soyez sûr que j'appréhenderai avec reconnoissance tout ce qui sera fait par vous. Au moment du jugement de celui que je choisirois avec orgueil et avec transport pour mon roi, je fis proposer aux ministres François, actuellement en Angleterre, de se rendre sur le champ à Paris, pour nous ranger autour de notre malheureux monarque. Ils crurent voir dans cette démarche, des inconveniens pour sa cause; ils en trouvèrent également à écrire une lettre signée de nous tous, pour demander un sauf-conduit qui nous mit à même de réclamer toute notre responsabilité. Je fus réduit à faire seul cette démarche, et

will be considered as done by him. Beside, your declaration can have no influence on the decision of the National Convention, because, at the very time I am writing, they are proceeding to judgment.

It is possible that the sentence they will pronounce may occasion another discussion in presence of the whole nation. You will then consider whether it will be proper for you to publish your declaration in favour of the most unfortunate and most virtuous of men. As for my part, if the cause shall be brought before the Nation, I am resolved to support it as publicly as I can, even although they should decide that I am no longer the legal defender of the innocent.

In that case, I shall avail myself of several articles in your letter, without alteration, because it is not in my power to express so well as you have done, certain great truths, which it will be of importance to lay before the Nation.

But the greatest part of your declaration consists of facts personal to yourself, and which you alone have the right to certify.

(Signed)

MALEHERBES.



et ma lettre ne fut pas même lue par l'Assemblée. Il ne m'est donc resté de moyen d'acquitter cette dette de ma conscience, que par la déclaration à laquelle vous daignez donner quelque éloge.

“ Ah ! c'est vous, Monsieur, et vos respectables collègues, qui les méritez toutes.

“ Un de mes amis, Monsieur d'Arblay \*, retiré avec moi à la campagne, a cru que la déposition qu'il vous a envoyée, pourroit être de quelque utilité dans une discussion ; il se joint à moi pour vous exprimer les mêmes sentimens.

“ J'ai l'honneur, &c. &c.  
(Signé) L. de NARBONNE †.”

M.

\* This is the same gallant officer of whom mention is made in vol. I.

† In informing me that you have received the declaration which I had the honour to send to you, you seem to desire that I should acquaint you with the use I wish to be made of it. Allow me to leave it entirely to your intrepid virtue, and be persuaded that I shall gratefully approve of what you think most proper.

At the moment of the trial of him, whom with pride and transport I would choose for my King, I sent a proposal to the French ministers, who are at present in England, that we should immediately set out for Paris, and take our stand by the side of our unfortunate monarch.

They thought such a measure would be prejudicial to his cause, and thought it would be equally so, to write a letter signed by us all, demanding a safe conduct, which should enable us to challenge the responsibility of our respective offices at the bar of the Convention. I was obliged to adopt this measure alone, but my letter was not so much as read in the Assembly ; and no other means remained for me by which I could satisfy my conscience, but the declaration on which you are pleased to bestow some commendation. It is to you and your respectable colleagues that every praise is due. M. d'Arblay, one of my friends, who lives with me in the country, thinks that the deposition which he sends may be of service ; he joins me in expressing the same sentiments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

M. de Narbonne afterwards received the letter which follows:

Malesherbès, 29 Janvier, 1793.

"Votre lettre du 10 Janvier m'est arrivée, Monsieur, à la campagne où je suis retiré depuis l'événement.

"Vous savez sûrement que la déclaration de vos sentimens que vous m'avez envoyée manuscrite a été imprimée. Je ne fais pas sur quelle copie a été faite cette impression : je n'y ai eu aucune part. Le seul usage que j'ai fait de votre lettre, et de la déclaration qui y était jointe, a été de les lire à celui que cela intéressait. Il en fut touché, et même attendri : il me recommanda de ne les pas publier par la crainte de vous compromettre ; car il a eu, sur cela, les attentions les plus scrupuleuses jusqu'au dernier soupir. L'original fut remis par lui à un de mes collègues, qui desira de l'avoir pour le relire à tête reposée ; et il m'a assuré qu'il n'est pas sorti de ses mains.

"J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous assurer de tout mon attachement.

(Signé)

MALESHERBES \*."

Le

\* Your letter of the 10th of January I received in the country, where I have been ever since the event.

You know undoubtedly that the declaration which you sent me has been printed. I am ignorant from what copy this has been done ; I had no hand in it. The only use I made of your letter, and of the declaration which came with it, was to read them to the person whom they most concerned. He was very much affected ; he desired me not to publish them, lest it should bring you to trouble ; for on that head he observed the most scrupulous attention until his last moment. The original was delivered by him to one of my colleagues, who wished to read it in more tranquility. He assured me that it never was out of his possession.

I have the honour, &c.

Le Comte de Lally-Tolendal had as early as the fifth of November addressed a letter to the Convention, requesting to be permitted to plead the cause of the King at their bar, on which they also passed to the order of the day: and hearing afterwards that M. Target had declined to assist Monsieur de Maleherbes in that honourable task, he repeated his request to the Convention; but before this second application arrived, the associates of Monsieur Maleherbes were already appointed.

Monsieur de Lally, however, while he had the expectation that his offer would be accepted, had prepared a very eloquent defence of the King in the form of an address to the Convention, which he published during the process.

M. Cazales, who had been a Member of the Constituent Assembly, was at that time in London. This gentleman wrote a letter to Lewis XVI. requesting, in case he should so far acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Convention as to make a defence before their tribunal, that he would choose him for his advocate. M. Cazales urges some particular reasons for this request, that seem equally just and generous.

He addressed the President of the Convention, that he might be allowed a safe-conduct to enable him to perform the honourable task which he had solicited, and was in hopes of obtaining leave to execute; adding, that he did not make this request in the expectation of having his name effaced from the list of emigrants, for he gloried in participating their political opinions and their misfortunes.

M.



M. Cazales enclosed both these letters in one to Petion, the Mayor of Paris; begging him, after he had read them, to deliver the one to the King and the other to the President of the Convention, and requesting an answer as soon as possible from Petion.

This proposal of M. Cazales was treated with the same neglect with the others. The Convention passed to the order of the day, when it was laid before them.

It will, no doubt, be thought extraordinary that the Convention should have made the smallest difficulty in admitting any body as the defender of the King who was agreeable to him; but what is much more extraordinary, and must be considered as a piece of striking injustice, was, to intercept papers intended for his justification, from reaching him, or those who were charged with his defence. Yet this injustice, striking as it seems, was certainly exercised towards this unfortunate Prince.

M. Bertrand de Moleville, late Minister of the Marine, was obliged to conceal himself, and afterwards to fly to England, in consequence of a decree of accusation issued on the 16th of August against all the late Ministers\*.

Being at London when the King's process began, and in possession of facts which he thought might be of use for his justification, he transmitted them with the proofs to the Minister of Justice, requiring that they might be delivered to the King.

\* This decree was instantly agreed to, on reading in the Assembly the note mentioned in vol. I. M. de Bertrand was not acquainted either with M. Barnave or M. Lameth; he knew nothing of the note, which besides was in itself of no importance. Yet it is evident, from what has since happened, that he has had a just notion of the disposition of those he had to deal with, and acted very wisely in taking refuge in England.

Afterwards, under cover to the same Minister, he addressed a packet of papers to M. de Malesherbes, inscribed *Pieces pour la Justification de Louis XVI.* and he wrote at the same time to M. de Malesherbes, informing him of the two parcels which had been sent.

Nothing can be conceived more sacred than this deposit in the hands of a Minister of Justice.

One of the abuses complained of in the ancient government was, that the papers sent to prisoners necessary for their defence, were sometimes intercepted, and not delivered to them in time; the Constituent Assembly therefore had decreed, that accused persons should freely receive all papers or memorials for their defence within the space of twenty-four hours.

M. de Bertrand must have been greatly surprised and shocked when he received the following letter from M. de Malesherbes :

Paris, Octobre 31, 1792.

« Le Ministre de la Justice a reçu un paquet de M. de Bertrand pour être remis à Louis XVI. et contenant des pieces pour sa justification.

« Le Ministre n'ayant point de communication avec le prisonnier, a envoyé ce paquet à la Convention Nationale.

Le même Ministre a reçu une lettre depuis du même M. Bertrand, adressée à moi, et il y avoit sur l'adresse, *Pieces pour la Justification de Louis XVI.* Ces mots ont fait penser au Ministre qu'il étoit aussi obligé de renvoyer ce paquet devant la Convention Nationale. C'est ce que ce Ministre m'a dit quand j'ai été le réclamer.

« J'ai su que ce deux paquets avoient été renvoyés par la Convention à un comite; j'ai été

été à ce comité pour réclamer au nom de celui dont je suis le défenseur, le paquet qui est pour lui, et en mon nom celui qui est pour moi. J'ai vu que les paquets avoient été ouverts : il y avoit des pièces imprimées, et dans un de paquets, qui n'est pas le mien, des pièces manuscrites qu'on ne m'a pas laissé lire, et qu'on m'a dit être des actes. On m'a remis sans difficulté les imprimées que j'avois déjà : pour les manuscrits, on n'a pas voulu me les remettre sans avoir un Ordre de la Convention Nationale.

Quelqu'un du Comité a été à la Convention, les pièces à la main, pour demander l'ordre. Il est revenu, et m'a dit que sur sa demande on a passé à l'ordre du jour. Mais il n'a point rapporté les pièces, et m'a dit qu'il les avoit laissées sur le bureau. Il ne m'a pas paru qu'il ait fait constater, par aucun acte, que ces pièces qui étoient dans son dépôt en étoient sorties.

J'ai demandé à ces M. M. comment je pourrois me pourvoir pour avoir ces pièces. Tout le monde s'est regardé, et personne ne m'a rien répondu.

Voilà où nous en sommes. Je n'ai pas cru devoir insister sur cet objet auprès de la Convention, pendant qu'elle est occupée à délibérer sur le jugement de Louis.

(Signé) "MALESHERBES \*."

\* The Minister of Justice received a packet from M. de Eertrand, to be delivered to Lewis XVI. containing papers for his justification.

The Minister having no communication with the prisoner, sent the packet to the Convention.

The same Minister has since received a letter from M. de Eertrand addressed to me, with a parcel entitled *Papers for the justification of Lewis XVI.* These words made the Minister think it was his duty to deliver this packet also to the Convention.

This is what the Minister told me when I waited on him to demand the papers.

"J'ai vu que les paquets avoient été ouverts : il y avoit des pièces imprimées, et dans un de ces deux paquets, qui n'est pas le mien, des pièces manuscrites qu'on ne m'a pas laissé lire, et qu'on m'a dit être des actes. On m'a remis sans difficulté les imprimées que j'avois déjà : pour les manuscrits, on n'a pas voulu me les remettre sans avoir un Ordre de la Convention Nationale."



The language of this letter is very guarded; the writer has not allowed the sentiments he must have felt at such conduct to appear; but a simple detail of the facts is sufficiently expressive.

M. de Bertrand, in a denunciation transmitted from London to the Convention, did not think the same caution necessary; he appeals in terms of just indignation to the reflection of the Convention on such a flagrant breach of their own decrees, and deviation from every rule of common equity.

The Minister of Justice informed the Convention, on the 14th of January 1793, that he had received this denunciation of M. Bertrand; that he understood it was also published in the *Courier de l'Europe*, and the minute placed in the hands of the Lord Mayor of London.

One member observed, that Bertrand having emigrated, was dead in law—that a dead person

Being informed that those two packets had been transmitted by the Convention to a Committee, I attended that Committee to demand in the name of him whose Counsel I am, that which is for him, and in my own name the other which is addressed to me. I perceived that both packets had been opened. Some of the contents were in print; and in that packet which was not addressed to me, there were papers in manuscript, which I was not permitted to read, and which they told me were acts.

They gave me without difficulty the papers which were in print, and which I had already: as to the manuscripts, they did not choose to give me them without an order from the Convention.

A Member of the Committee having gone to the Convention with the papers to obtain the order, returned and informed me, that on this request they had passed to the order of the day; but he did not bring back the papers, telling me he had left them on the table of the Convention. It does not appear that he has ascertained by any act that those papers which were in his possession were taken from him.

I requested of the Members of the Committee to inform me by what means I could recover those papers. They all looked at each other, but none of them made any answer.

This is the present state of things, I thought it would not be prudent to insist on this, while the Convention were deliberating on the sentence to be pronounced on Lewis.

could

could not be supposed to write or speak. Another said, that if the Convention should bestow attention on what appeared in newspapers, they must neglect the business of their country; and the Minister of Justice declared, that he did not think it became him, as Minister of the Republic, to correspond with a man who was not only an emigrant, but under a decree of accusation: and Valazé, who was of the Committee, said they were teased with the number of papers sent to them; and that as for the manuscripts which Bertrand mentions, he knew nothing of them, if they were not in a packet which the Committee had not thought it worth while to break open.

On this candid and satisfactory state of the matter, the Convention passed to the order of the day; by which means the King's Counsel were precluded from the knowledge of certain facts, which M. de Bertrand thought material in the King's defence; which seems also to have been the opinion of those who so basely intercepted them.

The day preceding that on which the King was to appear with his Counsel before the Convention, Santerre informed them, that the King, as he believed, might be conducted in safety to and from the Assembly, provided he returned while there was day-light; but if he was detained till it was dark, he could not answer for what might happen so great was the fury of the people against him.

When those who express a fear that the populace will destroy the King, are the very persons who have been active in exciting the public against him—it may naturally be thought that the fear is affected, on purpose to prevent any attempt

tempt  
prudent to insist on this, while the Convention were deliberating  
on the sentence to be pronounced on Lewis

tempt to rescue him, rather than to prevent his being destroyed.

The hypocrisy that has been displayed, and the artifices that have been used to impose upon the people, to inflame their minds against the King, and stifle every sentiment of humanity and remorse, are odious and wicked in the extreme.

When the Deputies went on the morning of the 26th of December to the Convention, all those who were suspected to favour the King were insulted by the crowds, who beset the passages into the Assembly-hall, as Rolandists, Brissotins and Royalists: most of the Deputies were there by eight; and notwithstanding that a decree had passed the evening before to clear the galleries, and not to admit any until a certain hour that morning, the galleries were found full of people, who had remained there all night. It was pretended that the guards could not possibly put the decree in execution.

Manuel moved, that the galleries should be cleared of those who had shewn such contempt to the decree; and that another set of citizens should be admitted. This proposal met with loud murmurs and hooting, from those who were in possession of the tribunes, supported by all the faction of the Mountain, who exclaimed for the order of the day. Others supported the motion of Manuel. The President divided the Assembly; whether they should maintain their own decree, or yield to those who openly despised it: it was carried to pass to the order of the day.

Here the influence of terror is evident.

Some time previous to the King's arrival, one of the Commissioners who had been on duty at the Temple presented a parcel of keys, which the King had given to Clenly his valet.

The



The Commissioner observed, that one of these keys opened the iron chest lately found full of papers in the Palace, and also opened other cabinets belonging to the King; and that of course he must be acquainted with the keys and papers contained in the iron chest.

We see men every day who are led into the commission of crimes by the influence of their passions, although they have the same idea of virtue and vice with those who live a more virtuous life; but the conduct of many actors in this Revolution, particularly of late, tempts us to believe that they have different ideas of the plainest cases of right and wrong, from what have been generally entertained by mankind.

When the Council of the Municipality met on the 25th of December, to decide on the manner in which the King should be conducted to the Convention, Chaumet, the Procureur Syndic, said, that as the King could be considered in no other light than as a condemned criminal soon to be executed, it would be dishonourable for the Magistrates of the people to accompany him to the Convention; and that he ought therefore to be conducted by the military only.

This was declaring that the trial was a mere farce, and that it was already determined to put the King to death, whatever proofs might be brought of his innocence, and whatever might be urged in his defence. There is great reason to think that this was really the case; but it is most extraordinary that it should be mentioned as a thing quite reasonable and proper, and it is still more extraordinary that it was rejected by only a very small majority, who at last decreed, that the King should be accompanied by the Mayor, the Procureur Syndic, and thirty Municipal Officers.

On

On the 26th of December, his Majesty, with whom his Counsel had been from an early hour, left the Temple a little before nine in the Mayor's coach, and was conducted as formerly to the gate of the Capuchins, rue St. Honoré, where the National Guards formed a line, through which he walked to the *Chambre des Conférences*, where he again met his Counsel.

General Berruyer, Commander in Chief of all the military of the department of Paris, with all the Field Officers then in the capital, who were not otherwise on duty, accompanied the King on horseback from the Temple to the Assembly Hall. Berruyer informed the President, that the King was arrived. The President desired he might be conducted to the bar; which was done in the following order: Berruyer and Santerre walked first, the Mayor of Paris and the Procureur after them, and the King with Messrs. Maleherbes, Tronchet and Seze followed. The President said, "Lewis, the Convention has decreed, that you should be ultimately heard this day."

His Majesty answered, "Monsieur de Seze, one of my Counsel, will read my defence."

M. de Seze then read the defence, which entirely refutes some of the charges, shews the constitutional objections to others, and with equal candour and ingenuity gives a favourable interpretation to all.

During the defence, M. de Seze was obliged to stop two or three times: at those intervals the King was observed to speak to one or other of his Counsel, which he did with a smiling countenance.

When the defence was finished, he arose, and holding a paper in his hand, pronounced in a calm manner, and with a firm voice, what follows:—

"Citizens,

"Citizens, you have heard my defence; I now speak to you perhaps for the last time, and declare that my Counsel have asserted nothing to you but the truth; my conscience reproaches me with nothing; I never was afraid of having my conduct investigated; but I observed with great uneasiness, that I was accused of giving orders for shedding the blood of the people on the 10th of August. The proofs I have given through my whole life of a contrary disposition, I hoped would have saved me from such an imputation, which I now solemnly declare is entirely groundless." The President ordered the keys to be shewn to the King, and asked if he knew them. The King answered, "that he remembered to have given a parcel of keys to Clergy; but it was so long since he had made use of them, that he did not know whether these were the same."

The President having asked, "Whether he wished to say any thing farther," and being answered in the negative, the King withdrew into the Chamber of Conferences. Observing that M. de Seze was greatly heated, he expressed anxiety about his health, and enquired whether he could not find means to change his linen.

On the way from the Temple to the Assembly, some person in the carriage with the King made mention of some of the Roman historians, which gave him occasion to say, that he preferred Tacitus to Livy: he accused the latter of having composed speeches for the Generals, which certainly had never been pronounced. On his return from the Assembly, he preserved the same serenity. The Procureur had his hat on, which had not been the case when he was in the carriage with the King the first time he went to and from the Convention. The King took notice of this piece of rudeness, by saying to him, "You had forgot your



your hat the last time you attended me; but you have been more careful of your health on this occasion."

Observing that the Procureur bowed and waved his hand with a look of familiarity to some persons in the streets, the King said, "I suppose these are citizens of your section?" The Procureur answered, "No, they do not belong to my section; but they were members of the General Council of the 10th of August, *whom I always see with pleasure.*"

The Mayor held his snuff-box in his hand; the Secretary of the Municipality looking at a portrait of M. Chambon's wife on the lid, made the usual observation, that the original was handsomer than the portrait.—The King also desired to see it; which having done, he said, that M<sup>r</sup>. Chambon was happy in possessing a woman more beautiful than such a portrait.

The King arrived at the Temple in safety, though the cries of the rabble were more noisy and frequent than on the former day.

He had no sooner withdrawn from the Assembly, than Manuel proposed that the King's defence should be printed, and sent to the eighty-four departments, and that all discussion concerning it should be adjourned for three days.

The mention of adjournment excited the most noisy murmurs from some of the members, and all the people in the galleries. Duhem, deputy from the department of the North, distinguished himself on this occasion.—He cried, that Lewis had been heard—that there was no pretext for farther delay—and insisted that the Convention should instantly proceed, by the nominal appeal, to pronounce judgment.—The murmurs were converted into applause. Lanjuinais began to speak:—"The time is passed," said he, "when bloody

bloody-minded men could force the Assembly, by threats, to pronounce degrading decrees; do they expect that we shall dishonour ourselves by pronouncing judgment, without having had time to weigh the defence of the accused?" He was interrupted by clamours. Some called out to send him to the Abbaye, on the pretence of his having intimated a reflexion against the heroes of the 10th of August: it was with infinite difficulty that he was allowed to explain. After which, Legendre and others recommenced their outcries for pronouncing judgment before they should separate. "Do you intend to act as a judge, or as a *butcher*?" said Kersaint?

This sarcasm was applauded by many of the Deputies, but hooted by the tribunes.

Raffron, of the department of Paris, always a very zealous, and often a very clamorous Member, attempted to speak; a deaf person would have thought, from the violence of his gestures, and his gaping, that he was bellowing very loud: the man was so hoarse with a cold, that he could not be heard, which increased the anger of his heart, and the contortions of his countenance, but entirely suppressed his voice.—He was advised, by those who were afraid that the violence of his efforts would throw him into convulsions, to put his opinion in writing—which he did; and it was read to the Assembly by the President. The import of it was, that they ought directly to pass sentence on the King, of whose guilt, this temperate judge declared, no calm and candid man could have any doubt.

Raffron's opinion was loudly approved of by the galleries, but did not convince the majority of the deputies, some of whom ventured to express a desire of still more time to deliberate on the defence they had just heard.—The people exclaimed with horror at the idea. Some deputies moved, that

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that they should be called to order, which rendered them more disorderly than ever. It was proposed to adjourn—This made Duhem outrageous: he rushed into the middle of the hall, followed by a number of the members of the faction of the Mountain, crying, “La Mont du Tyran!”—and seeming to appeal to the galleries and even to threaten Fermond the President.

Had Lewis XVI. really been the bloody tyrant these men affected to call him, still this behaviour in his judges, on his trial, would have been indecent and odious; but to shew such an unrelenting spirit, and such fury against a Prince of so mild a character—one who has borne his *faux-tiers* so meek—is not to be accounted for by any of the motives which usually influence men, whether virtuous or vicious. Some members of this National Convention seem as deaf to the voice of expediency and self-interest as of humanity and justice. Instead of any rational principle, they appear to be urged on by brutal and furious instinct to the death of the King; like blood-hounds, who never quit the scent till they have drunk the blood of their prey.

During this disgraceful scene, Fermond calmly kept his seat, allowing the fury of those men to exhaust itself: at length, perceiving that Pétion was inclined to speak, he invited him to ascend the tribune, conceiving, from the strength of his former popularity, that he had a better chance of being heard than any other member who did not belong to the faction of the Mountain: it was with great difficulty, however, that he was allowed to speak—He endeavoured to convince them of the indecency of proceeding to judgment immediately, and before the members had time to deliberate on the defence which they had just heard.

When



When it appeared that the majority of the Convention were not to be driven into the shameful measure of giving judgment directly, the point was given up; and it was decreed that every Member had a right to pronounce his opinion on the whole cause from the tribune, before the day for the nominal appeal was fixed.

Whoever has attended to the conduct and spirit of the Jacobins may have remarked, that however popular any person has been among them—however greatly he may have distinguished himself by promoting their measures with zeal and ability—if he chanced to be seized with a qualm of conscience at last, and hesitates to act with them in a single instance, all his past merit is forgotten, and he is execrated by the society as a determined enemy.

The night after the King's defence was made, a Member of the Jacobins gave an account in that society of what had passed at the Convention—particularly that Manuel had proposed to adjourn the discussion for no less a period than three days; and that Petion had spoken against pronouncing judgment without separating. This was heard with horror and indignation: it was immediately decreed, that Manuel should be expelled from the society. Petion with difficulty escaped the same fate, which, however, was postponed only for a short time.

For several days after the defence, the time of the Convention was mostly taken up in hear-

ing the opinions of the members: all of them prefaced their discourses, by declaring a conviction of the King's guilt; perhaps they thought this necessary to secure them the liberty of proceeding. They differed however with respect to the penalty he had incurred; many being of opinion that justice and policy forbade the pains of death: all the Rolandists, Brissotins and Girondists were of this number. Danton's and Robespierre's party argued for immediate death; and became so impatient at the delay, from hearing so many discourses, that they repealed the decree that had passed a few days before; and instead of hearing every member from the tribune, they resolved that the discourses should be printed, and laid on the table to be read by those who chose, and the 14th of January was appointed for pronouncing ultimately. It was not till the 15th, however, that the first appeal was made, owing to the long and warm discussions which took place in the Convention before it was determined in what terms, and in what order the questions should be stated on which the Convention was to decide: at last, it was decreed that the following questions should be put to all the members, and decided by the nominal appel:

1. Is Lewis Capet, late King of France, guilty of a conspiracy against liberty, and of attempts against the general safety of the State? Yes, or No.

2. Shall the judgment to be pronounced on Lewis, be submitted to the ratification of the people in the Primary Assemblies? Yes, or No

What punishment has he incurred?

These

These questions were artfully and wickedly arranged in this order, to render the King's condemnation more certain.

Several deputies who thought the appeal to the Primary Assemblies a wrong measure in itself, gave their votes against it, in the belief that the King would not be condemned to death—but had the question respecting the punishment been brought on in the second place, they would have seen that the appeal to the people was the only means of saving the life of the King, and would then have voted for that measure, although in general they did not approve of it.

This accounts for the length and violence of the debates, on a question apparently of so little importance as the order in which the propositions were to be voted:—for some of those who wished to save the life of the King saw this in the light above stated, and strove to have the questions otherwise arranged:—neither party, however, avowed the real reason of their zeal, and the malice of the King's enemies prevailed.

On the first question, the Assembly voted almost unanimously in the affirmative.—But many of the deputies declared, that they gave this opinion as citizens and legislators, but not as judges; because they neither thought themselves qualified for that office, nor authorised by their Constituents to assume it.

Morisson, of the department of Vendée, refused to vote: he said, "he would give his reasons if the Convention exacted it," which was not done: a very few others declined



voting; among whom was Noel, of the department of Vosges, who said, "that his son having been killed on the frontiers, fighting against the enemy, he considered the King as the primary cause of his son's death, and felt so much prejudice against him, that he was unqualified for being his judge."

Offelin, who had been one of the Judges belonging to the Tribunal appointed in August, gave his vote in the affirmative, and at the same time stated, "that one of the accusations against the King is, that he continued to pay his guards after they were reduced, although many of them had emigrated; that his Counsel, conscious of the force of this accusation, had taken great pains to destroy it, and had asserted that the King had not paid the guards after the 1st of January 1792; but that he himself, as one of the Administrators of the Commune of Paris, had business to transact with M. Laporte, and that Madame Laporte had made a deduction from the revenues of the Civil List of 1,200,000 livres in the month of July 1792, for the payment of the guards, then well known to have emigrated."

What stress ought to be laid on such evidence so given, I leave to lawyers to decide; but common justice might have dictated to a man, who thus volunteered himself as a witness, that he ought not to vote as a judge.

When the name of M. Egalité was called, it was imagined that he also would have declined voting; and when he pronounced "Oui," a murmur of surprise and indignation was heard.

The

The second question was undoubtedly intended as a means of saving the life of the King, and would in all probability have had that effect, if it had not been brought forward until the sentence of death was carried.

The measure of referring the King's fate to the people themselves, which from its nature was highly popular, had been rendered the reverse by the unwearied exertions of those who feared that, if carried, it would save his life.

In giving their votes on this second question, in the affirmative, several of the deputies said, they were aware of the danger to which they exposed themselves; but being convinced that their constituents had elected them as legislators, and not as judges; and as it was repugnant to their consciences to unite the characters of jury and accusers, they would run every risk rather than do it.—One Member said, “as I give my vote for referring this matter to the Primary Assemblies of the people, I expect the worst, and I glory in being of the number of those who brave the danger.” Another, “that in pronouncing the same vote, he devoted himself to the dangers of assassins.”

The speech that Manuel made on giving his vote was remarkable.—“I see here a Legislative Assembly, but not an assembly of judges; for judges do not murmur at the opinions of their brethren, though different from their own: they do not openly abuse and calumniate each other; they are cold as the law of which they are the organs. If the Convention had been a tribunal of law, a near relation of the King, who has not been restrained either

by a sense of shame or by his conscience, would not have been permitted to vote on this occasion."

The president called Manuel to order, telling him to avoid personalities. Manuel then voted for the appeal. Raffron, Paris, Legendre and Marat, who are all of the Department of Paris, and seem of congenial dispositions, voted against it.

It was midnight before the Appeal was ended:—there were 424 against, 283 for the reference; 10 refused to vote. The Assembly adjourned till the 16th, and when it met, incidental business prevented the appeal nominal from being begun till the evening. Many of the members particularised their reasons for voting as they did. The ceremony lasted through the whole night. The result was a majority for death. Three hundred and nineteen voted for imprisonment till the end of the war, and then banishment. Had all who voted for death with restriction, that the sentence should not be executed till the peace, or till the Constitution was framed and accepted, been substracted from the majority, it would have been diminished to a surplus of only five or six votes.

On this occasion, M. Egalité voted for death without restriction. A murmur of horror was heard. One deputy started from his seat, struck his hands together, and exclaimed, "*Ab! le fustiger!*" others repeated the same expression. The terms in which he delivered his vote are remarkable; "*Uniquement occupe de mon devoir, convaincu que tous ceux qui ont attenté on attenteront par la suite à la souveraineté du*



du peuple, méritent la mort, je vote pour la mort.†

Previous to the scrutiny, and after every member had voted, the President informed the Convention that he had received a letter from the Spanish Minister, and one from the King's Counsel. There was a cry from the Mountain for the order of the day. Garancoulon said, that the King's Counsel should be heard, but the Spanish Minister's letter should not be read. "How!" exclaimed Danton, "the Spanish Court have not acknowledged our Republic, and they attempt to influence our deliberations! If all the members were of my opinion, we should declare war against Spain for this interference alone."

Genfonnet proposed that the King's Counsel should be heard after the result of the scrutiny was known, but that in the mean time the Convention should refuse to hear the letter of the Spanish Minister, and pass to the order of day. It was unanimously agreed not to hear the letter, and Robespierre declaimed also against hearing the Counsel. In this he failed.

† Influenced by no consideration but that of performing my duty, convinced that all who have conspired, or shall hereafter conspire against the sovereignty of the people, deserve death, I vote for death.

I have it from good authority, that an acquaintance of M. Egalité understanding that he was not to vote on the favourable side, advised him to declare, that on account of the ill treatment which he imagined he had formerly received from the King, there would be an impropriety in his voting—that this would be considered as a good reason for declining, and would preclude the indignation which must be the consequence of his voting against the King. Egalité promised either to follow this plan or to stay from the Convention on the day of the appel nominal; but having the day before that took place been waited on by Robespierre, Marat, and others of that party, they urged reasons which made him act as he did.

Duchastel,

Duchassel, Deputy from the department of Deux-Sèvres, having been indisposed, had not been in the Assembly when his name was called the preceding night. He now was supported into the hall, and as the scrutiny was not yet closed, demanded to give his vote. It was suspected that he came to give his vote on the merciful side; and those who had during the whole process thirsted for the King's blood, and were now doubtful how the scrutiny stood, opposed his voting. Valazé, one of the secretaries, declaring that the scrutiny was *not* closed, Duchassel gave his voice for banishment. A shameful attempt was next made, on a frivolous pretext, to erase his vote—this was not permitted. The President announced the issue of the scrutiny as above mentioned, and the King's Counsel were admitted to the bar.

Deseze said, that the law and a decree of the Convention having entrusted them with the defence of Lewis, they came with sorrowful hearts to perform their last duty to their client; he then read what follows from a paper signed by the King: "I owe to my honour, I owe to my family, not to acknowledge the justice of a sentence that declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot reproach myself. I therefore appeal to the Nation at large from the sentence of its representatives; and I empower my Counsel by these presents, and expressly charge them on their fidelity, to make this appeal known to the National Assembly, and to require that it shall be inserted into the minutes of their sittings.

(Signed) Louis."

Each of the Counsel made a short address to the Convention: Deseze conjured them in the name

name of humanity and justice, to revise, or leave to the ratification of the People, a sentence carried by a majority of only five votes, and against which three hundred and nineteen of the Assembly had declared their opinions.

Tronchet represented that many of those who voted for death, had declared that they founded their opinion on the penal code—yet the penal code requires two thirds of the voices to condemn an accused person. A decree of the Convention, passed only that morning, had pronounced that the majority of a single voice was sufficient. On that decree being objected to, they had simply passed to the order of the day; but in a matter of such immense importance, the appel nominal was necessary: he therefore demanded the repeal of that decree.

M de Maleherbes said, that he had formerly had occasion to reflect with great attention on the important question of how the votes ought to be taken in criminal cases; but that not being in the habit of speaking extempore, he begged in the most earnest and affecting manner, that he might be allowed till the next day to arrange the ideas which he wished to submit to their consideration.

Robespierre and others argued on the other side; and the Convention rejected the appeal made in the name of the King, passed to the order of the day on the requisition of Maleherbes, and adjourned till next day the debate on the delay of the execution of the sentence, which was discussed at length accordingly.

Two remarkable incidents occurred during this debate, which shew what an excess of wanton barbarity and persevering rancour some



some men are capable of upon the most solemn and affecting occasions. Tallien, with diabolical irony, argued for the King's immediate execution, on what he called motives of humanity. "He knows," said the wretch, "that he is condemned, and that a respite is demanded—to keep him in suspense is prolonging his agony. Let us, in tenderness for his sufferings, decree his immediate execution, and put him out of anguish."

This shocked even Danton, who expressed disapprobation of it.

The other incident occurred when Thomas Paine, who had formerly given his opinion against the death of the King, ascended the tribune: as he was not in the habit of pronouncing French, one of the secretaries read his discourse translated from the original English. His reasoning against the execution of the sentence probably was thought very persuasive, since those who had heard the discourses of Buzot, Condorcet and Brissot to the same purport without interruption, broke out into murmurs while Paine's opinion was reading; and Marat at length losing all patience, exclaimed that Paine was a Quaker, and insinuated, that his mind being contracted by the narrow principles of his religion, was incapable of the *liberality* requisite for condemning men to death. This shrewd argument not being thought convincing, the Secretary continued to read, "That the execution of the sentence, instead of an act of justice, would appear to all the world, and particularly to their allies the American States, an act of vengeance; and that if he were sufficiently master of the French language, he would, in the

name of his brethren of America, present a petition at their bar against the execution of the sentence."

Marat and his associates cried, that these could not possibly be the sentiments of Thomas Paine, and that the Assembly were imposed on by a false translation.

On comparing it with the original, however, it was found just.

They proceeded to the fourth appel nominal, which was terminated at midnight on Saturday the 19th of January 1793.

The voters were restricted to pronounce a simple yes or no without any reasoning; 310 voted for a respite of the sentence, 380 against it.

It may be thought, from the result of this question, that the reference to the Primary Assemblies would have been equally rejected, at whatever time that proposal had been voted; but it should be remembered, that it was still less obnoxious to vote for referring the sentence entirely to the people, than to vote for a respite of a sentence actually pronounced.

The Executive Council were ordered to notify this to the King the day following, and that the execution was to take place within twenty-four hours of the notification. It was decreed at the same time, that he should be allowed free communication with his family, and to have any ecclesiastic he pleased to attend him.

The Executive Council, of which Garat the Minister of Justice was President, met

on the morning of the 20th. He, with two other Members of the Council, and the Secretary, set out for the Temple, where they arrived at two.

Being introduced into the King's apartment, Garat, who was greatly agitated, said with a faltering voice—"Lewis, the Executive Council is ordered to notify to you the decree which the National Convention passed last night."

The Secretary began to read the decree. In the preamble, the King is charged with having *conspired against the general safety of the Nation*—He was shocked at the idea, and repeated the expression with emotion. The Secretary, who had paused, resumed, and the King heard the rest, including the sentence, with calmness.

When the Secretary had finished, the King took a paper from his pocket, the contents of which he informed them of, and desired the Minister of Justice to present it to the Executive Council.

Garat informed him, that the Council could not decide on the subjects of his demands, but that he would immediately carry them to the Convention, who had already agreed to some of them.

He went accordingly, and read to the Assembly the paper which the King had given him.

It contained a request of a respite of three days, that he might prepare himself for appearing in the presence of God; and for that purpose, that he might be freely visited by a person, whose name he would mention to the Commissioners.



That he might be freed from their inspection during the interval allowed him to live.

That he might have free communication with his family.

That the National Convention would permit his family to withdraw from France to any other country they chose. Finally, he recommended to the generosity of the nation a number of old servants, many of whom had nothing to live on but the pensions he allowed them.

When the Minister of Justice returned to the Temple, he informed the King, that the Convention acquiesced in most of his demands; he gave a favourable interpretation to the general answer which had been given to that respecting the lot of his family, but added, that *the delay was refused.*

"Allons," said the King, "il faut se soumettre."

There is something infinitely harsh and revolting to humanity in the refusal of this last request; which there is every reason to believe, from the character and conduct of the King, proceeded from the pious motive which he assigned—and not, as his enemies have suggested, from a weak desire of prolonging a wretched existence.

Should it be the fate of any of those men who rejected this request of the unfortunate Monarch, ever to be in similar circumstances, as they will have more need of it than he had,

I sincerely hope that they will be allowed more than three days to prepare themselves for eternity.

When the Minister of Justice had retired, the King gave to one of the Commissioners a letter addressed to Mr. Edgeworth, who was the person he wished to attend him in his last moments.

Mr. Edgeworth's father was originally a Protestant clergyman of a good family in Ireland, who was converted to the Roman Catholic religion, and had established himself in France, where he bred his son as an ecclesiastic, in the faith which he himself preferred. The son recommended himself so much by his good conduct and excellent character, that he was chosen by the Princess Elizabeth as her confessor; by which means he became known to, and highly esteemed by the King; of which he gave the strongest proof, by sending for him on this awful occasion.

The King's letter was carried to Mr. Edgeworth by three soldiers, sent by the Council of the Commune. The contents of the letter were requesting his attendance; but if he found himself, from apprehension of the consequence, or any other cause, averse to come, entreating him to find another priest who had not the same reluctance.

Mr. Edgeworth informed the soldiers, that he would attend them directly to the Temple. His mother and sister were then at a small distance from Paris; he desired Madame d'Ar-

goue,

gauge, a relation with whom he lived when in town, not to inform them of what had happened, because he saw that lady herself greatly alarmed, and feared that she might communicate her apprehensions to them.

Mr. Edgeworth was conducted first before the Council in the Temple, and then to the King. On his being introduced, he instantly shewed such marks of respect and sensibility as affected the unfortunate Prince so much, that he burst into tears, and was for some moments unable to speak: at length he said—"Excuse me, Mr. Edgeworth, I have not been accustomed of late to the company of men like you."

After passing some time with his confessor the King thought he had acquired sufficient fortitude to bear an interview with his family. The Queen, Princess Elizabeth, with the Prince and Princess Royal, were conducted to his apartment. They continued near three hours together—No tragic poet has imagined a scene more affecting than what was realized at this interview. The actors, so lately placed in the most brilliant situation that the world can give—hurled from the summit of human splendor to the depth of human misery. A sister, children, and a wife, in a prison, taking their leave of a brother, father, and husband, rendered more dear than ever by his past sufferings, to their common calamity, and the dreadful fate awaiting him the following day.

The King, though affected at different times beyond the power of expression, retained his recollection to the last. When they were to



separate, the Princess Elizabeth mentioned their hopes of seeing him again in the morning. He allowed her to expect it.

The Queen could listen to no words of comfort. No consideration could prevent her from pouring forth her indignation in the most violent expressions against the enemies of her husband. In the bitterness of her soul she beat her breast and tore her hair; and her screams were heard at intervals, all that night of agony and horror.

After his family had withdrawn, the King remained for some time with his eyes fixed on the ground without speaking; then with a profound sigh he pronounced—"Ce moment étoit terrible."

I have it from the best authority, that after his family were withdrawn, the misery of his own fate did not engross his mind so entirely as to exclude all solicitude for the fate of others; he enquired in a most affectionate manner of Mr. Edgeworth for several whom he considered as his friends, and particularly for the ecclesiastics, who had been persecuted with the greatest cruelty; and expressed satisfaction at hearing that many of them had escaped to England, where they were received with kindness and hospitality.

Mr. Edgeworth prevailed on him to go to bed for four hours.

He rose at five; and expressing an inclination to hear mass, Mr. Edgeworth informed the Council who were sitting in the Temple of the King's

King's request. Some difficulties were made, which Mr. Edgeworth removed, saying that the usual ornaments and all that was requisite for the ceremony could be procured from a neighbouring church.

Mr. Edgeworth shewing great solicitude that the King should be gratified, one of the Commissioners said, he had heard of people who had been poisoned taking the sacrament.

To this horrid insinuation Mr. Edgeworth made no other reply, than by calmly reminding him that the Committee were to procure the host.

What was necessary was provided. Mr. Edgeworth said mass, and administered the sacrament to the King; and then mentioned that his family expected to see him before he left the Temple. The King, fearing that he had not sufficient firmness for a second interview, wished to spare them the agony of such a scene, and therefore declined it.

At half an hour after eight Santerre came and informed him that he had received orders to conduct him to the place of execution. After passing three minutes in private with his Confessor, he came to the outer room where Santerre had remained, and addressing him, said, "Marchons, je suis prêt." In descending to the court, he begged the Commissioners to recommend certain persons who were in his service to the Commune; after which, not imagining that Mr. Edgeworth intended to accompany him any further, he was bidding him

adieu. But the other said, his attendance was not over. "What," said the King, "do you intend to adhere to me still?" "Yes," replied the Confessor, "to the last."

The King walked through the Court with a firm step, and entered the Mayor's coach, followed by Mr. Edgeworth, a Municipal Officer, and two Officers of the National Guards.

The King recited the prayers for persons in the agonies of death during the conveyance from the Temple to the Place de la Révolution, formerly the Place de Louis XV.

When the carriage stopped at the scaffold, the King said—"Nous voici donc arrivè." He pulled off his coat, unbuttoned the neck of his shirt, ascended the scaffold with steadiness, and surveyed for a few moments the immense multitude; then approaching the edge, as there was a good deal of noise, he made a motion with his hand for silence, which instantly took place\*—

\* It has been said that the serenity which the King shewed at his death, did not proceed wholly from the support he derived from religion, but was partly owing to the hope he entertained to the last, even when on the scaffold, that his life would be saved by the people, and that his Confessor encouraged him in this hope.

Nothing can be more improbable than this story. Had the King entertained any such hope it must still have been intermingled with fear; and such a state of mind, instead of calmness, was more likely to produce agitation.

The whole of his behaviour shews a manly and christian resignation to a fate which he thought inevitable, and proves that his hopes were removed from earth to heaven.

The character of Mr. Edgeworth precludes him from the suspicion of having encouraged a hope which would have disturbed that turn of mind which it was his duty to promote and cherish in the King.



then speaking with a raised voice, he said—  
 “Français, je meurs innocent. Je pardonne à  
 tous mes ennemis, et je souhaite que la France  
 —”

Santerre, who was on horseback near the  
 scaffold, made a signal for the drums to beat,  
 and for the executioners to perform their office.  
 The King's voice was drowned in the noise of  
 the drums.

Three executioners then approached to seize  
 him: at the sight of a cord, with which one of  
 them attempted to tie his arms, the King for  
 the first time shewed signs of indignation, and as  
 if he was going to resist, Mr. Edgeworth put  
 him in mind that the Saviour of Mankind had  
 allowed his arms to be tied: he no sooner pro-  
 nounced this, than the King became passive as a  
 lamb. The executioners laid hold of him, and  
 placed him on the guillotine. The Confessor  
 then kneeling with his face near to that of the  
 King, pronounced aloud—“*Enfant de Saint  
 Louis, montez au ciel.*”—The blow was given—  
 Mr. Edgeworth's face was sprinkled with the  
 King's blood. The executioner walked round  
 the scaffold, holding up the head to be seen by  
 the people. A few, who had probably been  
 hired for the purpose, cried—“*Vive la Nation  
 Vive la Republique!*”

Thus did the French Nation, who had en-  
 dured the cruelties of Lewis the Eleventh, the  
 treachery of Charles the Ninth, and the tyrannical  
 of Lewis the Fourteenth, condemn and execut  
 for the pretended crimes of cruelty, treacher-

and he

and tyranny, the mildest, most just, and least tyrannical Prince that ever sat on their throne.

Let us consider the conduct of the Convention with regard to the King, and decide whether it can be reconciled to good sense, justice, or humanity.

When the Deputies first met and formed a National Convention, they knew that a most extraordinary event had happened; that the palace of their King had been attacked; that many citizens had been killed, and almost all his guards slaughtered; that the King himself with all his family had been thrown into prison, where they still remained; and that their duty, as the representatives of the nation, was to investigate the causes of this extraordinary event, and to punish the guilty.

The Convention were informed by those *who had planned and directed* the attack on the palace, "That the citizens had been wantonly fired on by the guards, in consequence of orders from the King; that the King was betraying the country to an invading army, with the leaders of which he was in correspondence; and that unless he had been attacked and imprisoned, the nation would have been enslaved."

Having heard this accusation, it was natural to have imagined that the Convention would, in the next place, have wished to know the King's account of these transactions, that they might be the better able to judge which account was the most probable, and the best supported by known and incontrovertible facts.

• One

One fact they must have known, namely, that when the King had reason to believe that his palace was to be attacked, he sent for the Mayor of Paris and other Civil Officers to be near his person, and to be witnesses of his conduct.

From this it was to be presumed, that the King wished to avoid force, and if he should be driven to the necessity of using it, that it should be under the direction of the Civil Magistrate.

The Convention might have recollected, that although one of the many evils which are inherent in a *despotic* government, be, that there is no door to freedom but through insurrection; yet the moderate and equitable character of Lewis XVI. had early inclined him to such alterations in the old system, as would gradually have united the prerogatives of limited monarchy with the rights of free men.

Such considerations, with a moderate share of candour and gratitude, one would imagine, would have made them suspend their belief in the full extent of the crimes imputed to the King; and at all events have prevented their giving a decision injurious to him, till he was heard, and till as many of their brother Deputies as were expected had arrived. Instead of this, they thought proper, on the very first day of their meeting, when not above half of their number had arrived, without hearing the King, to pronounce the severest sentence against him which they had a right by the Constitution to have done, even if all of which he was accused had been clearly proved\*.

\* Abolition of Royalty.



They next proceed with more deliberation, to determine whether the King may not still be tried for his life.

The inviolability with which the Constitution had invested the monarch, was, in the minds of many of the Deputies, an insurmountable objection to this measure.

It might have been imagined, that if the terms in which this inviolability was expressed by the Constitution had been obscure and somewhat dubious, still it would have been becoming in the legislators of a great nation to have explained them in the most favourable sense for their unfortunate monarch : there was no room, however, for their exercising their generosity in this manner ; for the terms are as clear as language can make them.

This had no effect on a majority of the Deputies, who declared, that they considered the inviolability as a mere chimera, which ought not to be regarded.

The reasoning by which they supported this proposition will appear extraordinary. "The Constitution," say they, "could only render the King inviolable while he was King, but it can have no such effect now that Royalty is abolished ; and therefore we may now with propriety try him as a private citizen."

According to the military law and custom of some countries, an officer of the army may be condemned to lose his commission, and to serve in the ranks for certain crimes, for which a common

common foldier would be condemned to undergo a corporal punishment;—but nothing so unjust was ever thought of, as first to make the officer suffer the punishment appointed by the military code for his crime as an officer, and afterwards, on the pretence of his being a common foldier, to inflict a second punishment for the same crime.

Other Deputies reason in this manner:

The inviolability is very good in ordinary cases, but it is of no use in the present. The people are sovereign, independent of the Constitution, and cannot be bound by any law made by the Constitution.—Louis XVI. n'étoit Roi que par la Constitution: La Nation étoit Souverain sans Constitution et sans Roi\*.

Thus that metaphysical monarch, le Peuple Souverain, is conjured up, on convenient occasions, to answer for every kind of injustice and cruelty:—he was at one time declared to be the author of the massacres of the prisoners, on purpose to screen the real murderers; and in this instance he is brought forward to annihilate the most solemn and sacred of all obligations.

The Committee who formed the Decree of Accusation against the King, seem to have been very much perplexed, on account of the force and precision in which his inviolability is declared by the Constitution. Mailhe, who presented it in their name to the Convention, after repeating this embarrassing article, says, with some

Rap. de Mailhe, 7 Nov. 1792.

degree

degree of passion, "Cela veut-il dire que le Roi, tant qu'il seroit assez adroit pour éluder les cas de la déchéance, pourroit impunément s'abandonner aux passions les plus féroces, et seroit-il quitte pour la perte d'un sceptre qui lui étoit odieux, parce qu'il n'étoit pas de fer?"

Without taking notice of the false and childish exaggerations which his question insinuates, Mailhe may be answered, that if the King had the address to elude all the cases to which the Constitution has affixed the pain of forfeiture of the crown, he certainly ought not to forfeit it—and if Mailhe himself were on his trial for murder or robbery, and it clearly appeared, that the accusation was false, or, to use Mailhe's expression, that he had had the address to elude those crimes, I confess I should be for acquitting him; for whatever may be the opinion and practice in France, I adhere to the old notion, that a man, who has the address to be innocent, ought not to be punished as guilty.

Nothing can be more unworthy, than for the legislators of a nation to attempt to explain away the obvious meaning of a proposition so clearly expressed, as that relating to the King's inviolability is by the French Constitution; and the arguments they have used are as sophistical as the attempt is unbecoming. For my own part, I do not think it extravagant to question, whether Lewis XVI. would have accepted of the Constitution, had the inviolability been explained to him *then*, in the manner which it is *now* explained. I am convinced he would not, if he had thought that Danton, Robespierre, Legendre, and Marat were, in any presumable case, to be his judges.

But



But had all objections founded on the inviolability of the King's person been removed, were it clear that he might have been tried and dealt with as a private citizen, for crimes laid to his charge as a King; still the Convention, as it was composed, could not, with any colour of impartiality, be considered as a proper tribunal for his trial: to have rendered it such, it would have been necessary to remove all those who had in print, or from the tribune, declared themselves convinced of his guilt, or in any way manifested a desire that he should be executed. What possibility is there, for example, that the King's innocence should be proved to Saint-Just, Deputy for the department of l'Aisne, who, in the discourse he read to the Convention, says, "Le procès doit être fait au Roi, non point pour le crime de son administration, mais pour le crime d'avoir été Roi: on ne peut point régner innocemment. Tout roi n'est qu'un rebelle et un usurpateur." And Robespierre, in the Society of Jacobins, where there were several who had been members of the Legislative Assembly, and were then of the Convention, said, "that if the King were absolved, they must of course be considered and punished as rebels." Were such men impartial judges?

And if the objections to particular Deputies were entirely removed, one solid one remains against the whole Assembly, namely, that being the King's accusers, they were disqualified from being his jury or judges.

When we next come to consider the nature of the proofs in support of the accusation, and the manner in which they were obtained, the

force of the objections against them is obvious and striking. The papers found in the King's cabinet on the 10th of August, and those afterwards discovered in the iron chest in the wall of the Tuileries, are not fair and legal evidence—because papers may have been introduced and mixed with the others by the King's enemies; because papers may have been lost or removed which would have explained and accounted for what appears criminal in others; because a person's having criminal papers in his custody, is no proof that he approves of, or is even acquainted with their contents; and still less of his intending to adopt the opinions, or follow the plans or counsels of the writers.

Let us farther suppose, that all the papers presented to the Convention are the genuine papers found in the King's closet, without any having been added or subtracted; still they do not constitute a proof of his having formed any scheme of destroying the Constitution, or betraying the country to its enemies.

Brissot in his writings, Louvet and Barbaroux in their speeches in the Convention, assert, that they, and their associates, brought about the Revolution of the 10th of August, with a view to establish a Republic. They were so precise and minute on this important point, as even to particularise the place.—It was at Charenton, as they declared, that the measure of attacking the King in his palace was determined on; it was at first agreed to be on the 20th of July, but afterwards postponed to the 10th of August. Danton, Robespierre, and Chabot, insist that this honour belongs to them. Petion, who had

been sent for by the King, who was actually in the palace as a Civil Magistrate, and in the character of a mediator, early that morning, was afterwards very much hurt, because Robespierre insinuated that he had had very little share in the insurrection of the 10th of August. "Les hommes," says he, in his letter to Robespierre, "qui se sont attribués la gloire de cette journée, sont les hommes à qui elle appartient le moins; elle est due aux braves fédérés, et à leur directoire secret qui concertoit depuis long temps le plan de l'insurrection." And in his letter to the Society of Jacobins he claims his own right to part of the glory: "Je n'ai pas peu contribué," says Petion, "à amener la journée du 10 Aout." After this, how could any men of common sense, and common candour, hear with patience the King accused of being the aggressor on that occasion? Yet this was done in the act of accusation, and repeated by many of the members in their speeches during the process.

Finally, let it be supposed, that the person of the King was not rendered inviolable by the Constitution; that the Convention was the proper tribunal by which he ought to have been tried; that the papers were unexceptionable evidence; and that the proof against him was convincing: after all this has been admitted, still it is clear that it was most inexpedient and unwise in the National Convention to decree his execution, because it would exasperate many of the Princes of Europe; and if it pleased any, it would afford even them a pretext for making war with France; thus creating new enemies to their



their Infant Republic, and strengthening the hands of the old:

Because the great object of punishment is to prevent, and not to avenge crimes; and in a Republic the same case could never again occur.

Because a living and dethroned King would have been less interesting to the public, and therefore less formidable to the present government of France, than a young Prince, whose character calumny could not touch, and whose father had been beheaded.

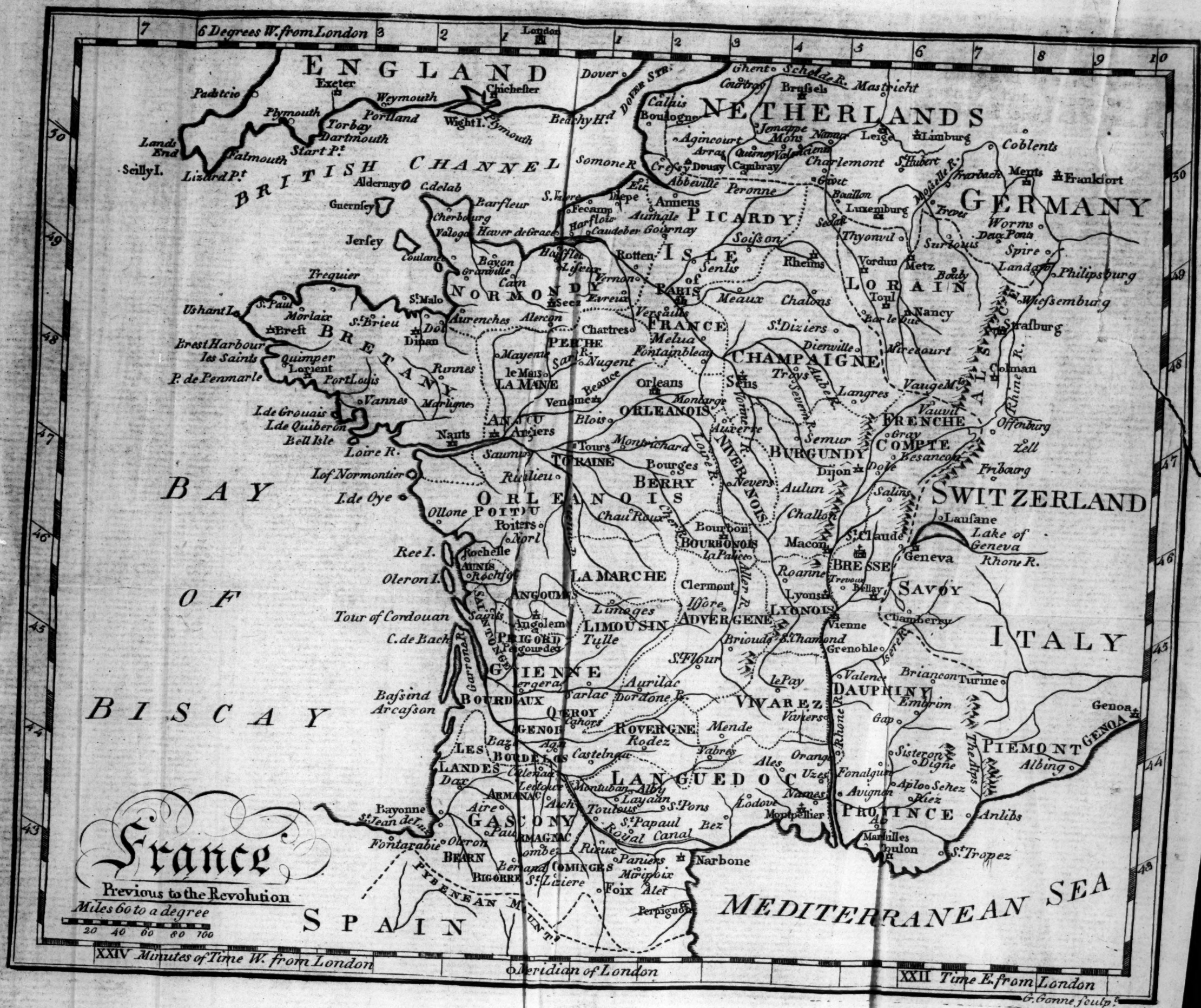
A French lady, distinguished for wit, having remarked the ingenuity of a footman belonging to a man of high quality, who was as ugly and stupid as his servant was the reverse, said, "Il faut avouer que le Nature n'est pas Aristocrate." — If Nature has been partial to democracy, it must be confessed, however, that the Democrates of France have been most ungrateful to Nature, by violating all her laws, and wounding all her feelings.

The records of mankind exhibit no example of crimes deliberately committed, attended with so many circumstances of wanton unrelenting cruelty, and so evidently pernicious to the cause of the perpetrators.

F I N I S.









# EXPLANATION OF THE MAP OF

## DUMOURIER'S CAMPAIGN.

**T**HE march of the Duke of Brunswick from Luxembourg to Longwy and Verdun, by Grand Pré, to the Camp of La Lune, is indicated by a line of a green colour.

The march of General Dumourier from Sedan to Grand Pré and St. Menchould is marked by a red line.

The march of General Dillon from Mouzon to Biesme, red.

The march of General Kellerman from Metz, by Bar le Duc, St. Dizier, and Vitry, red.

The fields where engagements took place, are indicated by swords crossed.

The rivers are pale green.

The roads yellow.

The Duke of Brunswick's Camp at La Lune is coloured yellow.

Those of Dumourier and Kellerman near St. Menchould, red.

Dillon's Camp at the Côte de Biesme, red.

The Hessian Camp near Dombasle, green.

An accurate Map of France, divided into Departments, is now engraving and will be given in the third edition of the first volume of this work, in a few days.



